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INTRODUCTORY SOCIOLOGY

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION	XIII
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PART I—SOCIAL ORIGINS

CHAPTER	PAGE
I SOCIAL ORIGINS IN THE LIGHT OF RECENT ETHNOLOGY	3
1 What is Cultural Evolution? 2 Opponents of the Theory 3 Dr Laufer on Cultural Evolution 4 Sociology Needs An- thropology 5 Too Much Unscientific Procedure 6 Danger of Preconceived Opinions 7 Arguments Refuting the Theory of "Cultural Evolution" 8 A New Theory of the Diffusion of Culture 9. A Defence of the Historical School 10. Frazer's Fallacies	
II EVOLUTIONARY THEORIES OF CULTURE OPPOSED BY FACTS	14
1 Evolutionary Theories 2 No Basis for the Theory of Sexual Promiscuity 3. Morgan's <i>Ancient Society</i> Untrust- worthy 4. The Negritos of the Malay Peninsula	
III THE PRIMITIVE FAMILY, THE UNIT OF SOCIAL ORGANIZA- TION	19
1 The Fundamental Social Unit 2. Importance of the Family 3 Morgan's Erroneous Preconceptions 4 Views of Giddings 5 Promiscuity Unknown among Truly Primitive People 6 A Difference between Primitives and More Ad- vanced Tribes 7. A True Picture of the Primitive Family 8 Position of Women and Treatment of Children among Pri- mitives 9 Treatment of Women among American Indians 10. Moral Instruction of Australian Youths 11. Training of Chil- dren among Veddas of Ceylon	
IV PRIVATE PROPERTY AMONG PRIMITIVES	30
1 Why do Socialists Reject the Fact of Private Property among Primitives? 2. Who Are the "Primitives"? 3 Private Property in Foodstuffs 4. Private Property in Land 5. "In- corporeal Property" Rights	
V PRIMITIVE RELIGION	35
1 The Comparative Method 2 Buddhism and Christianity 3 A Great Indologist on Christianity and Buddhism 4 Chris- tianity and pre-Christian Religions 5. Religion Universal among Men 6 Monotheism in Africa 7 The Social Theory of the Origin of Religion 8. The Theory of Durkheim 9.	

Fear as the Origin of Religion 10 "The Ghost Theory" 11.
Primitive Man and the Notion of Causality

VI THE MORAL LAW AMONG PRIMITIVES 54

1 Systems of Ethics 2 Theory of Spencer 3. *Golden Bough* and *Folkways* 4 Sumner's View of Morality 5. Primitive Tribes Know the Natural Law 6 Assault upon the Evolutionary Theory 7 Morality and Primitive Races 8 Sumner's Examples Do Not Prove Changing Morality 9. Morality of the Pygmies 10. Connection of Primitive Morality and Religion 11 Moral Test among the Tribes of Lake Tanganyika, Central Africa 12. Stories of Sumatra Tribes without Religion Are Fables 13 Negritos of Northern Luzon 14 High Moral Concepts of Primitive Australian Tribes 15 Why Emphasize High State of Primitive Morality? 16 The True Standard of Morality 17 Theory of Unilinear Evolution 18 What Study of Primitives Has Revealed 19 Primitive Man Not a Savage

PART II — SOCIAL PRINCIPLES

I SOCIOLOGY AND RELATED SCIENCES 77

1 Definition 2 Subject Matter of Sociology 3 The Purpose of Sociology 4 Sociology as a Science 5 Sociology and Political Science 6 Sociology and Economics 7 Principles in Social Action 8 Programs or Secondary Principles 9. Ethics 10. Revealed Religion 11 Sociology as a Speculative Science 12 Dangers of False Views 13 Group Morality

II POSTULATES OF SOCIOLOGY 91

1 Taking Things for Granted 2. Human Testimony and Certainty 3. A Postulate 4 Further Explanation of Postulates 5. Necessity of Postulates 6 The Four Postulates of Sociology 7. Other Postulates 8 Arriving at Postulates 9. Application of Postulates 10 Postulate and Hypothesis 11. Inherent Weakness of Sociology Built on Hypotheses 12 Proof from Citations 13 Useless Discussion 14 Radical Differences 15 False Hypothesis of Professor Soares 16 Postulates of Catholic and non-Catholic Sociology 17. The Systems Cannot be Reconciled

III MAN'S DIGNITY AND FINAL DESTINY 104

1 Sociology and Religion 2 Objections Answered 3. Man's Final Destiny 4 Divergent Views 5 Adversaries 6 Man's Perfection Not in This Life 7. Purpose of Creatures 8. Various Relationships to Be Considered 9 The Object of Investigation 10 Wrong Idea of Investigation 11 Mistake of Comte 12 The Social Worker's Point of View

CONTENTS

vii

CHAPTER

PAGE

IV MAN ESSENTIALLY A SOCIAL BEING 112

- 1 A Futile Inquiry 2 Purpose of Man's Endowments 3. Teaching of Hobbes and Rousseau 4. Historical Evidence 5. Man's Undeveloped Faculties 6 Care of the Young 7 Man's Further Need of Society 8. Isolation Detrimental 9. Man and His Creator 10 Changing Principles 11. Unchanging Principles 12 Breaking with the Past 13 Animals Are Gregarious, Not Social

V THE BEDROCK FOUNDATION OF SOCIAL LIFE 121

- 1 The Bedrock Foundation 2 Physical Laws 3. Moral Laws 4 The Eternal Law 5 Reason and the Moral Law 6 Conscience Interpreting the Moral Law 7 Civil Law and the Natural Law 8 The Social Worker and the Natural Law 9 The Social Worker's Knowledge 10. A Right 11 A Duty 12 Further Explanation of Rights 13. Rights and Duties from the Creator 14 Rights and Duties in Conflict 15 Recognition of Rights on the Part of the Social Worker 16 Animals Have No Rights 17 The Place of Vivisection in Medicine

PART III—SOCIAL FACTORS AND SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS

I ENVIRONMENT 133

- 1 Importance of Environment in Social Progress 2 Exaggeration of Environment as a "Social Force" 3 Influence of the Darwinian Theory 4 Human and Physical Environment 5 Geographic Environment 6 Environment Determines Social Characteristics Only to Some Extent 7 Fallacies of Montesquieu, Buckle, and Other Geographic Determinists 8 Social Environment 9 Effects of Poor Home Conditions 10 Environment and Other Social Conditions 11 Cultural Environment 12 Determinants of Cultural Environment 13. Recent Scientific Developments and Their Effect on Cultural Environment 14 Heredity and Environment

II HABITS 147

1. Habits 2 Social Forces 3 Prudence 4 Justice 5 Fortitude 6 Temperance 7 Abstinence 8 Sobriety 9 Chastity 10 Modesty 11 Clemency 12 Competition and Conflict 13. Accommodation 14 Assimilation

III GROUP BEHAVIOR 161

- 1 A New Terminology 2. Importance of Like-Mindedness 3. Race Riots and Strikes 4 Further Steps in the Formation of the Social Mind 5. Like-Mindedness in Primitive Society 6. Three Primary Groups 7 The Play Group 8 The Community 9. Secondary Groups 10. Workers' Education in the United States 11 Other Secondary Groups 12 The Knights of Columbus 13 Social Control 14. Religion the Most Uni-

CHAPTER	PAGE
versal and Most Beneficent Form of Social Control 15. Other Means of Control 16. Education as an Agency of Social Control 17 But All Controls Mentioned in This Chapter Will Be Important	
IV THE MODERN FAMILY	177
1 Theory of Malthus Not Proved 2 Dr Sutherland on Theory of Malthus 3 Divorce 4 Dangers of Rejection of Ethical Principles 5. Degradation of Marriage 6 The State and Divorce 7 Efficacy of the Church's Teachings 8 The Rise of Individualism 9. Abolish Divorce	
V. THE STATE	187
1. Different Opinions on Nature of the State 2 Forms of Civil Society 3 Nations Free to Choose Form of Government 4 Right of Deposition 5 Popular Belief and Authority 6 The State a Natural Institution 7 The Church International in Spirit 8 Chesterton on the Church of the Ages 9. State Interference 10 The State and Education 11 Principles of State Welfare 12 Explanation of These Principles 13 The Common Good the Main Purpose of the State 14 The State As An Agency of Social Control 15 But Should Exert This Control Wisely 16 Individual Rights 17 The Church Safeguards These Rights of Citizens 18 Why False Notions Rule in Statecraft 19 The State Should Not Forbid Minor Societies Which Aim at Legitimate Purposes 20. A World State	

PART IV — SOCIAL PATHOLOGY

I CRIME AND JUVENILE DELINQUENCY	205
1 Crime a Social Problem 2. Reliance on Statistics 3 New Laws Add to the Volume of Crime 4 Fallacy of Reasoning from "Concomitants" 5 Fallacy of Comparing Various Countries on the Basis of Criminal Statistics 6 Crime, Vice, Sin 7. Though Crime May Be a Changing Concept, There Is an Immutable Standard of What Is Morally Right or Wrong 8 Youthful Age of Prisoners 9 Theory of the Existence of a Distinct Anthropological Criminal Type Cannot be Held 10. Danger of Arguing from a Selected Group 11 Other False Theories Concerning Cause of Crime 12 Unsound Generalization 13 Study of Causes of Crime Must Be Studies of the "Individual Delinquent" 14 Can We Have an Absolutely Scientific Interpretation of Causes of Crime? 15 Mental Factors and Constitutional Inferiority 16 Some Further Statistics 17 Intemperance 18 Objective Causes of Crime 19 Bad Home Environment 20. Broken Homes 21 Lax Court Procedure and Obstruction of Justice 22 Crime and the Immigrant 23. Is Criminality Due to Occupation? 24. Juvenile Delin-	

CHAPTER	PAGE
quency 25. Is Juvenile Delinquency Increasing? 26. Remedial Measures 27 Capital Punishment 28. Religion and Crime	
II POVERTY AND PAUPERISM	230
1 Poverty an Age-Old Problem 2. Is Poverty an Inevitable Condition for Many? 3. Changing Attitude toward Poverty. 4. Poverty and Pauperism 5 Changing Concepts of Poverty 6. Extent of Poverty 7. Three Theories of Poverty 8 Causes of Poverty 9 Subjective and Objective Causes 10. Sicknes 11. Serious Accidents 12 Drink 13. Mental Incapacity 14. Waste and Extravagance 15. Degeneracy 16 Social or Objective Causes 17 Unemployment and Causal Employment 18 The Malingerer 19 Bad Living Conditions 20. Other Social Causes 21 Remedial Measures 22 Humanitarian Work of the Church 23. Social Legislation 24. Indoor and Outdoor Relief 25 The Elberfeld System 26 The St Vincent de Paul Society 27 Almsgiving 28 Special Classes of Dependents 29 The Homes of the Little Sisters of the Poor 30. Dependent Children 31 Orphan Asylums 32 Epileptics, Drug Addicts 33 The Christian Idea of Poverty	
III HEREDITY AND EUGENICS	246
1 Importance of the Theory of Selection in Studies of Heredity 2 A Study in Heredity 3. Hereditary Factors as Causes of Pauperism 4 The Laws of Heredity 5 The Need for Artificial Selection 6 What Is Eugenics? 7. Criticism of an American Program 8 Right and Wrong in Eugenic Measures 9 The Root Cause of Social Misery 10 Some Race Myths 11 Hope for the Future 12 Voluntary Celibacy 13 Social Value of Religious Orders 14. The Theory of Malthus 15. Doctrine of Malthus Not Scientifically Proved 16. Evils of Neo-Malthusianism 17 Birth-Control Measures are Harmful 18 A New Attitude toward the Right of the Unborn Child 19 Heredity and Environment 20. A Eugenics Laboratory 21. Galton's Eugenic Program 22 Practical Use of Such Data 23 The Spiritual Factor in Eugenics 24 Heredity and Freedom of Will 25 Heredity and Opportunity 26 A Word of Hope 27 Sterilization of the Criminal and the Feeble-minded 28 Present Status of Laws 29 The Biological Arguments against Sterilization 30. Segregation	
IV FEEBLEMINDEDNESS AND INSANITY	273
1. Relationship between Problems of Crime, Poverty and Mental Deficiency 2 Classification of the Feeble-minded 3. Danger to Society from the Moron 4 Feeble-mindedness and Retardation 5 Extent of Feeble-mindedness 6 Tests for Determining Feeble-mindedness 7 Causes of Feeble-mindedness 8 Expenditure for Maintaining Feeble-minded 9 Remedial Measures 10 The Nervous or Psychopathic Child 11. Psychiatric Study of Problem Children 12. Insanity 13. Dementia 14. The Psychoneuroses 15. Neurasthenia 16.	

CHAPTER	PAGE
Psychasthenia 17. Hysteria 18 Paranoia 19. Obsessions 20 Is Insanity Increasing? 21. Age and Sex 22. Causes of Insanity 23. Treatment of the Insane 24 Suicide 25 The Salutary Effect of Religion	
V UNEMPLOYMENT	287
1 A Serious Social Problem 2. Involves Other Social Prob- lems 3. What is Unemployment? 4. Extent of Unemploy- ment 5. Unemployment in Other Countries 6. Causes of Unemployment 7 Effects of This Evil 8. Remedial Meas- ures 9 Unemployment Insurance 10. A New Attitude To- ward the Employee	
PART V — SOCIAL ACTION	
I YOUR ATTITUDE TOWARD SOCIAL WORK	299
1 Inspiration from Great Leaders 2 Contributing Your Mite 3 Social Progress is Slow 4 Attitude toward Failure 5 Determination to Persevere 6 Facing Opposition 7 In- gratitude Often the Only Reward of the Social Worker 8. Banishing All Misery 9 Social Work Allied to Religion 10 Social Work Cannot Be Substituted for Religion 11 Christ and Saints as Models for the Social Worker	
II OBLIGATION OF SOCIAL SERVICE	308
1. Teaching of Christ on the Duty of Social Service 2 Secondary Lesson but One That Is Binding 3 The Duty of Social Work Not Fulfilled by Simply Giving Alms 4 So- cial Work Must Be Scientific 5 Salient Features of the St Vincent de Paul Society 6 Working in Harmony with Other Organizations 7 The Social Exchange 8 Results of Co- operation	
III PRACTICAL ASPECTS OF SOCIAL WORK	316
1. Problems Near at Hand 2. Starting Your Own Survey 3. The Social Uplifter 4 Creative Imagination Useful for the Social Worker 5 Mme Pastoret's Success in Founding Day Nurseries 6 Pauline Jaricot and the Society for the Propagation of the Faith 7 The Narrow Limits of Your Own Community 8. Slumming Condemned 9 Advantages of Pre- ventive Work 10. The Word "Charity" to Be Retained 11. The Widening Influence of Experience	
IV SOCIAL INFLUENCE OF THE TEACHING OF CHRIST	326
1. Contradictory Interpretations of the Social Teaching of the New Testament 2. Social Principles as Explained by Christ 3. Necessity of Programs 4. Evil Effects Which Follow the Departure from Principles 5 Christ Began with the Sanctifica- tion of the Individual 6. Spiritual and Social Regeneration	

CONTENTS

xi

CHAPTER

PAGE

7 Work for the Individual Affects the Whole of Society	8
The Social Value of the Beatitudes	9.
10 The Example of the Holy Family	11.
Misinterpretation of Christ's Social Teaching	12
Christ Did Not Teach Laziness but Trust in Providence	13.
Christ Did not Teach a Doctrine of Hate	14
Christ Did Not Condemn Riches	

PART VI — SELECTIONS FOR COLLATERAL READING

I LEO XIII ON THE CONDITION OF LABOR	345
1 The Condition of Labor 2 Socialists and Private Property 3 Man's Natural Right to Private Property 4 Man Is Older Than the State 5 Man's Natural Right and His Social and Domestic Duties 6 The State May Not Abolish nor Absorb Paternal Rights 7 The Church Alone Can Solve the Social Problem 8 The Christian Interdependence of Capital and Labor 9 Christianity Teaches Practically the Right Use of Money 10 The Dignity of Labor 11 Social Evils to be Remedied Only by Return to Christian Life and Institutions 12 The Church Seeks the Material Welfare of the Poor 13. The State's Share in the Relief of Poverty 14 To the State the Interests of All Are Equal 15. The Christian Idea of a State 16. The State Should Safeguard Private Property 17 The State Must Protect the Laborers' Rights 18. Employers' Moral Obligation to Pay Fair Wages 19. The State Should Favor Multiplication of Property Owners 20 Multiply Workingmen's Associations 21 The Advantages of Lawful Combination 22 Catholic Benefit and Insurance Societies 23 Found the Organizations on Religion	
II THE MINISTRY OF CHRISTIAN CHARITY	377
1 Charity, the Supreme Test 2 The Gospel and Paganism 3 The Spiritual Sense 4. Studying Changed Conditions 5. Supernatural Motives in Social Work 6 The Example of Christ 7 The Universal Duty 8 Necessity of United Organization 9. The Church's Contribution to Our National Life 10. Dangers of False Standards	
III THE PSYCHOLOGY AND THE PHYSIOLOGY OF HABIT	392
1 What Is a Habit? 2. Early Inculcation of Habits 3 Association of Ideas 4 The Use of Association 5. The Physiology of Habit 6 Vices and Passions 7 Exercise of Restraint 8 Control of the Body 9. The Rational Basis of Habit 10 Self-Control Again 11. The Machinery of Will	
IV POVERTY AND THE GOSPEL TEACHING	409
1 The Gospel Does Not Represent Poverty in Itself as a Virtue 2 Christ Did Not Declare Poverty to Be Natural and Unavoidable 3. Christ Has Commanded Us to Relieve Misfor-	

CHAPTER	PAGE
tune, Not to Perpetuate It 4. Expansion of Works of Charity 5. Poverty of Today Not Due to the Teachings of Christianity 6. False Conclusions of Socialists	
V. BIRTH CONTROL <i>Ethical motives</i>	418
1. The Dignity of the Marriage State 2. Immorality of Birth Control 3. The Teaching of Malthus 4. Birth Control and Poverty 5. Large Families. 6. Physical and Moral Evils of Birth Control 7. Childless Marriages 8. The Ultimate Effects of Birth Control <i>Natural motives</i> 1. The Interest of the State 2. Problem of Overpopulation 3. False Conclusions 4. Confusion of Thought 5. Physical Injuries 6. Balanced Theory of Parenthood	
VI JUVENILE DELINQUENCY AND MENTAL DISORDER .	435
1. The Child Guidance Clinic 2. School Children in Missouri 3. Bellefontaine Farms 4. House of Detention and Juvenile Court 5. Conclusions 6. Recommendations	
VII PHYSICAL FACTORS IN CRIME . . .	447
1. Physical Effects of Drugs 2. Theory of Lombroso 3. Criticism of Lombroso 4. Research Necessary 5. Physical Defects and Delinquency 6. No Physical Defect in Itself Produces a Positive Tendency to Crime	
INDEX OF NAMES . . .	455
GENERAL INDEX	459

INTRODUCTION

In this text book, Parts I, III, and IV have been written by the Rev Albert Muntsch, S J , and Parts II and V (and Chapter II of Part III) have been contributed by the Rev Henry S Spalding, S J

Father Muntsch is professor of sociology at the St Louis University He has written numerous pamphlets on his chosen subject and has devoted himself entirely during the last eleven years to the study of social science with particular attention to social origins and to culture of primitive races He has also made a special study of modern French and German sociologic literature

Father Spalding was associated with the Rev Frederic Siedenburg, S J , in founding the Loyola School of Sociology in 1915 He is the author of *Social Problems and Agencies*, *Introduction to Social Science*, and *Chapters in Social History*

The authors have been preparing the data for many years, with a due consideration for the needs of Catholic schools They have produced a book which they hope will meet a genuine need For years a vast amount of material has been accumulated on this subject from the standpoint of Catholic teaching The reverend authors have for the first time gathered this together in a single volume

Texts of sociology have been welcome channels for the propagation of all kinds of strange panaceas for the uprooting of social ills and handy means for the spread of unsound ethical teaching The domain of sociology has been widened so as to include every phase of social life and of group activity As a consequence, there are as many opportunities for proposing "remedial measures" as there are social problems to be solved and social wrongs to be righted

The writers of the present volume are therefore well aware of the wide range of books in social science that are now at the disposal of teachers They do not intend to embarrass them still more in the choice of texts at their command But they intend to present some aspects of certain social questions which have not heretofore received a treatment in harmony with the sound canons of Christian ethics Some topics, such as almsgiving and the Catholic idea of

doing good from a motive of supernatural charity, have therefore been explained. So, too, the questions of "The Moral Law Among the Primitives" and the vital fundamental principle that there is a final standard of morality of human actions have been discussed in the light of Christian ethics.

Some of the outstanding features of this book are

(1) It rejects the evolutionary theory of culture and establishes the family and State on the solid ground of Christian ethics.

(2) In no other book on the subject is there a clear exposition of the difference between principles and programs in social action. Herein lies one of the essential differences between Catholic and non-Catholic sociology. In no other text will the teacher find this subject so clearly treated.

(3) A sound exposition is given of postulates, and it is made evident just how sociology is related to other subjects.

(4) For the first time, certain social agencies, which have for many years been working for the welfare of our people, are given recognition. Such agencies, whose activities are briefly described, are the St. Vincent de Paul Society, the Knights of Columbus, and the Little Sisters of the Poor.

(5) In the discussion of crime, too much stress is laid neither on heredity nor on environment, but the multiplicity of factors that may be responsible for wrongdoing is pointed out, and the authors follow Dr. William Healy's plea for study of the "individual delinquent."

(6) Believing that sociology is eminently a practical science and would not deserve the devotion of earnest students of society if it offered no plans and methods for wider social welfare, the authors try to show how social tendencies may be directed to the greater social peace and happiness of society.

(7) The note of pessimism has been avoided. Throughout there is a healthy view of our social conditions, and even in the discussion of those evils which have become deep-seated, the authors try to maintain their poise and to suggest a possible means for adjusting social ills.

The bibliographies include not only works which propose views in harmony with those of the authors, but those also which are regarded as authoritative in their respective fields.

PART I
SOCIAL ORIGINS

CHAPTER I

SOCIAL ORIGINS IN THE LIGHT OF RECENT ETHNOLOGY

Like other sciences, sociology has been enriched by the extensive explorations among uncivilized and primitive tribes during the last half-century. The title of this chapter indicates that we are to consider the beginnings of important social institutions and the spread of culture on the basis of data supplied by students of primitive society.

Textbooks on sociology are often full of errors, because statements are based on preconceived opinions and not on the facts of ethnology and archaeology. But it is now recognized by scholars that the days of theorizing about primitive culture are passed and that we must seek light on social origins by a patient examination of the culture, language, and religion of still surviving primitive tribes. "Sociology," says a writer in the *Dial* (July 18, 1918), "needs imperatively the discipline of anthropological fact." It will be the aim of this chapter to inquire into the social institutions of primitive life in the light of modern ethnology, and not of *a priori* speculation.¹

Ethnology is the science that treats of the manners, customs, culture, and institutions of races, especially the so-called lower races. Its findings are of the utmost importance in a discussion of the structure and development of social institutions. Professor Lowie has shown that recent investigations among primitive people have

¹ To what extent *a priori* speculation may vitiate both sociologic and anthropologic study has been abundantly shown in a recent report of research by B. Malinowski, published in *Supplement to Nature*, No. 2936, February 6, 1926. Malinowski's paper is entitled "Primitive Law and Order" and contains the following warning which ought to be heeded by students of social origins: "Since the facts of primitive law described in this article have been recorded in Melanesia, the classical area of 'communism' and 'promiscuity,' of 'group sentiment' and 'clan solidarity,' of 'spontaneous obedience' and what not, the conclusions which we shall be able to draw — which will dispose of these catchwords and all they stand for — may be of special interest."

done away with mere speculations and have substituted facts for theories. The most important result of the new methods of ethnologic research is the rejection of the theory of cultural evolution. This theory took over from biology the idea of the gradual growth and perfection of organisms and tried to establish a series of links, a unilinear chain of progress from the lowest type of social culture to its full fruitage in modern "civilization." The theory, to use a phrase of Lowie, belongs to the refuse heap of anthropology.

1. What Is Cultural Evolution?—Dr Wissler says that the "round of life in its entire sweep of individual activities is the basic phenomenon to which the historian, the sociologist, and the anthropologist give the name *culture*." The classic definition of the word is the one given by E. B. Tylor, in the first chapter of his well-known work, *Primitive Culture*. "Culture or civilization," he says, "taken in its wide ethnographic sense, is that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society."

But, says Lowie, there are "those who set out with the evolutionary dogma that every social condition now found in civilization must have developed from some condition far removed from it through a series of transitional stages." They maintain that every social institution and every social acquisition passed through an ascending series of stages, each stage presupposing one of a definite lower type. But this theory, which may be called the "theory of unilinear cultural evolution," is now rejected by practically all anthropologists. For "the search for all-embracing laws of evolution on the model of Morgan and Schurtz's scheme (two writers who tried to establish such evolutionary sequences) is a wild-goose chase."¹

2. Opponents of the Theory.—The new school of American anthropology, represented by Boas, Lowie, Kroeber, Wissler, Sapir, Swanton, Laufer, and Goldenweiser, rejects evolutionary schemes or patterns of culture and turns to an historic interpretation of early social institutions. Andrew Lang was one of the first scholars to break away from evolutionary shackles² in the interpretation of culture. Referring to the Australian aborigines, he says that "their speculative philosophy is, in one instance, ingenious, elaborate, and highly peculiar." Yet "evolutionists" often speak of the brutish behavior of these primitives.

¹ *Primitive Society*, 1920, p. 337.

² *Social Origins*, 1903.

The attack of this school upon evolutionary hypotheses of the spread of culture forms an interesting and curious chapter in the history of scientific thought. For time was — in the sixties and seventies of the last century — when it was triumphantly asserted that the evolutionary hypothesis, as announced by Darwin and applied by Herbert Spencer, was the only legitimate method for the study of all human phenomena and that it would prove the master key to solve all problems and questions of art, literature, politics, social life, and religion. But now this opinion, so stoutly maintained a little more than half a century ago, is gradually being abandoned.

3. Dr. Laufer on Cultural Evolution. — Fr. William Schmidt, one of the leaders of the new historical school of ethnology, speaks of "the turning away from evolutionism to the historical method in American ethnology." Dr. Berthold Laufer, curator in the Asiatic division of the Field Columbian Museum of Chicago, condemns "cultural evolution" as "the most inane, sterile, and pernicious theory ever conceived in the history of science (a cheap toy for the amusement of big children)." ¹

4. Sociology Needs Anthropology. — It is only when sociology breaks away from the "high-piling hypotheses" and the elaborate "stages of culture" of Spencer and L. H. Morgan that a scientific study of primitive society is possible. This has been well maintained by the writer of the article in the *Dial* (July 18, 1918), who said:

"Today it is clear that sociological thinking would be made even more fruitful by employing the illuminations which anthropology provides in ever-increasing abundance. Some scholar with the adequate background and training, together with the necessary literary skill, needs to do for anthropology precisely what Graham Wallas did for psychology — bring it into the open and put it to work. Sociology needs imperatively the discipline of anthropological fact. For with the war there has come recrudescence of the vicious kind of sociological speculation which the new training of sociologists in the psychology of behavior had to a certain extent destroyed. Most of this popular and flabby generalizing about 'races' and 'bloods' and 'hostile groups' — such as we have *par excellence* in a writer like Houston Chamberlain — springs from downright ignorance of the simplest validated truths of anthropology. For example, it is considered the shrewd and scholarly thing to say of Russia that her attempts at a sociological experiment of a totally new kind in the history of the world are 'abortive.' It is considered the correct reading of the theory of evolution, so respectable a theory that no one dare dispute it. It is assumed that nations must pass through successive stages from the simple to the

¹ *American Anthropologist*, n s, Vol XX, 1918, p. 90

complex 'How can Russia,' these writers ask, 'expect to jump from the eighteenth century to the twenty-second? Must she not pass through the mercantile, the industrial, the economic development which the more highly organized and more experienced democracies of the West have had to undergo? Must not the new grow out of the old? Would not any other development be mere caprice in what we know, scientifically, to be an orderly world?' The answer is that anthropology is largely the history of just this type of caprice. Especially needed is the corrective of scientific anthropological knowledge to those speculating about the natural differences between the various races at war — for here ignorance and unreason is the general rule. The *Dial* hopes that such a type of book may speedily be written. The opportunity is great, the need imperative."

5. Too Much Unscientific Procedure. — In no domain of sociology has there been such an amount of gratuitous assertion as in that which treats of the earlier forms of social institutions like the family, government, private property, language, that is, those institutions that are generally regarded as forms of cultural enrichment. Mr Henry W Henshaw, writing of the American Indians, says that "popular fallacies respecting them have been numerous and widespread"¹ The same statement may be made about other primitive nations. For hasty travelers, sojourning a few days among a strange tribe, have heaped upon it all kinds of animal and "subhuman" traits. The latter, carefully compiled and labeled, are then used to "prove" an "evolution of culture."

There are abundant examples of this unscientific procedure. The tale has often been repeated of the utter barrenness and paucity of resources of primitive speech. But Dr Edward Sapir, in one of the latest contributions to the science of language, says, "Popular statements as to the extreme poverty of expression to which primitive languages are doomed are simply myths"²

6. Danger of Preconceived Opinions. — Dr Malinowski in his aforementioned paper on "Primitive Law and Order" has a section on Melanesian economics and the theory of primitive communism, which concludes "Thus, in connection with the first object that attracted our attention — the native canoe — we are met by law, order, definite privileges, and a well-developed system of obligations." In a comment on Malinowski's article in the same journal³ we read ". . . An observer, not necessarily superficial, may have

¹ *Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico*, "Popular Fallacies"

² *Language*, 1921.

³ *L. c.*, p. 204

found by unconscious selection among the multifarious activities of the daily life of a primitive people very much what he set out to find. An apparently hasty conclusion has inevitably followed. Dr Malinowski has attacked the problem by a new method and from a new point of view. He has taken certain concrete cases in primitive economics and social organizations and, by a searching analysis of the facts, shows that the conditions are such that no terms such as 'communism' or 'individualism' can be considered." If even men with the scientific acumen of the late W. H. R. Rivers were not altogether free from the tendency of finding things which they expected to "find," what can we expect from the hasty, unscientific, and prejudiced observer or traveler?

To the extent that the study of social origins freed itself from the theory of unilinear evolution, to that degree there was possible a better understanding of primitive social institutions. It is easy enough to construe elaborate series or stages of progress for any cultural acquisition, but quite a different thing to verify such series and stages by historic facts and data. Hence it was only when primitive culture was investigated by sound historic methods that rigid inference was substituted for mere speculation.

7. Arguments Refuting the Theory of "Cultural Evolution."

— As this chapter on social origins is based on the fact that the scientific and unprejudiced study of the history of culture cannot accept the theory of "cultural evolution," our duty will be to give the arguments refuting that theory.

One of the brilliant results of wide ethnologic research during the last half-century was the supplying of a basis for the study of cultural relations between nations and of the diffusion of culture. The trend of anthropology today is distinctly opposed to evolutionary schemes, and scholars are now seeking the rationale of human conduct by an intensive study of the history and culture of the more primitive groups of mankind. "For the gathering of such data makes possible comparison, analysis, and interpretation useful in the study of fundamental social problems."¹

8. A New Theory of the Diffusion of Culture. — Now one of the new theories that has satisfied many of the keenest inquirers into the origin of social institutions is the so-called "*Kulturkreis-theorie*" (culture-cycle theory), according to which human culture radiated

¹ Fay-Cooper Cole in *Journal of Applied Sociology*, Vol. IX, May-June, 1925.

in successive waves from definite centers which probably all lie in Asia. These sequences of culture are called "culture cycles" or "culture complexes" which here and there still remain intact, but which more often have been overlaid by subsequent waves and become confused with them. The elements of each stream of culture must be determined and traced back to their point of departure. Each one of these streams of culture once formed a complete whole; each had its own forms of religion, mythology, social organization, primitive art, economic life, tools, and weapons. The agreement in the possession of many unrelated items of material culture is of special significance for their common origin.

This theory of the diffusion of culture has already been worked out for many parts of the globe. It is obvious that the careful tracing of culture cycles is of immense value in a study of the history of cultural development. The inclusion of various cultural elements in compact groups or cycles is not based upon a *priori* "evolutionary" schemes, but upon careful examination of the data of culture. The main objection that may be brought at present against the theory of culture cycles is that some of its basic principles have not been satisfactorily established. But even though this be true, there is no solid reason to reject the theory. As a working hypothesis, it has proved to be an efficient aid in the study of social origins.

Many discussions of the origin of social institutions are vitiated and rendered scientifically worthless by the tendency to find ready explanations for similar customs among widely separated races by the principle that has been extensively used in biology, that is, by evolution.

Dr. Lowie thus accounts for this tendency: "When evolutionary principles, having gained general acceptance in biology, had begun to affect all philosophical thinking, it was natural to extend them to the sphere of social phenomena. Among the first to embark on this venture was Lewis H. Morgan, whose ethnographical treatise on the Iroquois had established his reputation as an accurate and sympathetic observer of primitive custom. Under the influence of evolutionary doctrines, Morgan outlined a complete scheme for the development of human marriage. It was eminently characteristic of the intellectual atmosphere of the period that Morgan's first stage should be a condition of perfect promiscuity. Morgan made no pretense at producing empirical proof of pristine promiscuity. He advanced promiscuity as a logical postulate precisely as some

evolutionary philosophers advance the axiom of spontaneous generation and thereby placed it beyond the range of scientific discussion" ¹

Again, ² Dr Lowie in discussing "The Determinants of Culture" (Chapter IV) says "What are the determinants of culture? We have found that cultural traits may be transmitted from without, and in so far are determined by the culture of an alien people. The extraordinary extent to which such diffusion has taken place proves that the actual development of a given culture does not conform to innate laws necessarily leading to definite results, such hypothetical laws being overridden by contact with foreign peoples. But even where a culture is of a relatively indigenous growth, comparison with other cultures suggests that one step does not necessarily lead to another, that an invention like the wheel or the domestication of an animal occurs in one place and does not occur in another. To the extent of such diversity we must abandon the quest for general formulæ of cultural evolution and recognize as the determinant of a phenomenon the unique course of its past history. And as the engineer calls on the physicist for a knowledge of mechanical laws, so the social builder of the future who would seek to refashion the culture of his time and add to its cultural values will seek guidance from ethnology, the science of culture."

9. A Defense of the Historical School. — Dr Clark Wissler of the American Museum of Natural History defends "the historical conception of culture" as opposed to the evolutionary scheme ³. The "historical school" in ethnology and the science of man is gradually gaining wider recognition among students of primitive society. Under the caption "The Historical Conception of Culture" Dr Wissler writes "Sociology and anthropology have sought to interpret culture as the mere expression of organic evolution, but such interpretations could not be made consistent with the data. Heredity did not appear to perpetuate the different forms of culture found in the world, nor could it in any way account for the cultural associations formed by the historical nations. A good illustration of this difficulty is found in language. Every one knows that a language is not inherited; for if such were the case, a person would

¹ *Primitive Society*, p 55

² *Culture and Ethnology*, pp 95-97 Douglas C McMurtrie, 1917

³ *The American Indian An Introduction to the Anthropology of the New World*, p 352 Douglas C McMurtrie, 1917

speak French, Algonquin, or Chinese according to his parentage, and not according to his first associates. Neither is shooting with bows nor kindling fire with fire drills inherited. Yet such are the elements that constitute culture complexes. It appears, then, that the form and direction the development of culture takes is something of another sort from that followed by organic evolution, because the perpetuating mechanism is not the same."

In fact, modern ethnologic science, as represented by Lowie, Wissler, Kroeber, and Laufer in America, and Schmidt, Koppers, and Graebner in Europe, has done away with the antiquated notions and "high-piling" evolutionary hypotheses of L. H. Morgan and Herbert Spencer. Ethnology is now recognized as the only science that can furnish data absolutely necessary for the earlier story of human progress. This fact seems to be ignored by many of the textbook makers. They are apparently unaware of the rapid progress that ethnologic research has made during the last forty years. There are ambitious chapters on "social evolution" in some of the textbooks on sociology, in which the old theories of Spencer and Lubbock are handed down as if they still held good today. Some of these pedagogues seem not to know that the elaborate classifications of forms of human association in Morgan's *Ancient Society* are no longer held by anthropologists, that Spencer's *Principles of Sociology* is a "compilation based on materials collected by assistants," and propounds views which now "are ignored by ethnologists,"¹ and that the multitudinous data of Frazer's *Golden Bough* may prove anything, and, as a matter of fact, have received most diverse interpretations at the hands of students of primitive culture and folklore.

10. Frazer's Fallacies.—The writer who has been chiefly responsible in recent years for the application of "evolutionary principles" to the study of social institutions like the family, the state, private property, etc., is Sir J. G. Frazer. The twelve volumes of *The Golden Bough* and the four tomes of *Folklore in the Old Testament* have furnished material to those who desired proofs of cultural evolution. But though his data are interesting and have been collected from an immense field, they cannot be regarded as such proofs.

For the fallacies of Frazer's methods in reaching his "conclusions" have often been pointed out by critics. By means of his

¹ Thomas, W. I., *Source Book for Social Origins*, pp. 281, 316, 533.

methods almost any "conclusion" can be maintained. Frazer himself admits the weakness of his position by the introduction of numerous qualifying phrases "perhaps," "it may be the case," "it seems possible," etc. In this way, of course, many a hypothesis "may" be proved, but the question is: Does the citation of multitudinous "examples" from the folklore of many nations prove Frazer's contention that all law, all religion, all morality, spring from primitive tribal customs and superstitious practices? Many first-rate authorities answer with a decided negative.

On the contrary, in spite of the apparently overwhelming testimony for the support of his thesis, Frazer bases far-reaching inferences upon an extremely weak scaffolding. For when his instances and "analogies" are critically examined, it will be seen that they are far from being proofs for his theories.

In spite of his reckless procedure in compiling his data to support a preconceived opinion, some writers of sociologic texts are well content to copy Frazer. They seem never to have learned that the far-fetched analogies, the customs and tribal practices and primitive superstitions cited by the author with such remarkable facility to strengthen his case, are now admitted to bear more than one interpretation, and so turn out to be useless to bolster up a preconceived opinion like that of Frazer.

But Frazer has held the field so long that he has simply run wild in his mania for constructing theories on huge heaps of unrelated data, gathered from the vast literature of travel and exploration, of the last two centuries. Andrew Lang succeeded in laying wide breaches in the system so elaborately constructed, and now Fr. William Schmidt, Fr. William Koppers, and other scholars are gradually dismantling a building reared high, but lacking solid basis. Frazer is one of those anthropologists whom Professor G. W. Mitchell takes to task¹ and who delight in "finding evolutions and ready explanations at will, and piling hypothesis on hypothesis, as if building high enough on a theory would convert it into fact."

Frazer himself admits that his findings are questionable. "Hypotheses," he says, "are necessarily but often temporary bridges built to connect isolated facts. If my light bridges should sooner or later break down, I hope that my book may still have its utility and its interest as a repertory of facts."

But the theory that cultural progress necessarily follows rigid

¹ *Dial*, February 22, 1919, p. 206

lines and that one stage of social advance imperatively demands a definite antecedent, in other words, that there is a process of unilinear evolution, is now abandoned by all more noted ethnologists

TOPICS FOR DISCUSSION

- 1 How has sociology been enriched during the last half-century?
- 2 Of what does ethnology treat?
- 3 What is one of the important results of the study of primitive people?
- 4 Define culture from the viewpoint of anthropology
- 5 What is the main idea of the historical school of the study of culture?
- 6 What accounts for the reckless application of evolutionary principles to the study of culture?
- 7 What is a serious objection to Frazer's use of data collected from many nations?
- 8 Have missionaries made any contributions to the science of ethnology?
- 9 What is the value of missions from the social and the scientific point of view?
- 10 Would you call the American Indians "primitive" in the same sense as races like the Pygmies of Africa or the Andaman Islanders?
- 11 Who has a better chance of coming to a closer understanding of the life of primitive people — the trader and explorer or the missionary? Why?
- 12 Read the articles on Fr De Smedt, S J, on "Jesuit Relations" and on "California Missions" in the *Catholic Encyclopedia*, and tell what the missionaries have done to spread knowledge of Indian life
- 13 Read some of the late numbers of a Catholic missionary journal, and tell what missionaries in foreign lands are doing to record the remains of primitive culture and religion
- 14* Collect facts from the books of Charles F Lummis on the civilizing work of the Franciscan missionaries in southwestern United States
- 15 Give the story of the foundation and destruction of the Reductions of Paraguay

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CHAPTER II

EVOLUTIONARY THEORIES OF CULTURE OPPOSED BY FACTS¹

1. Evolutionary Theories.—When the facts alleged to prove a strict evolutionary development of culture are carefully examined, it will be seen on how insecure a basis the whole theory rested. Lowie² therefore asserts that, "in view of the evidence, it seems perfect nonsense to say that early European civilization, by some law inherent in the very nature of culture, developed in the way indicated by archæologic finds."

For the "line of progress" may be broken anywhere, at any time, and owing to ever so many causes. In fact, says Lowie, "discontinuity is a necessary feature of cultural progress"³. "The classical scheme of cultural evolution, of which men like Morgan are the protagonists" is that cultural development is in a definite direction through definite stages. But "Professor Boas and American ethnologists generally have maintained [that] many facts are quite inconsistent with the theory of unilinear evolution. That theory can be tested very simply by comparing the sequence of events in two or more areas in which independent development has taken place." For instance, though Africa has deposits of copper, the stone age of the Dark Continent was *not* followed by a copper age, but directly by a period of iron. Southern Scandinavia, however, had no copper deposits. But this region not only had "a bronze age" but the people even excelled in certain kinds of bronze work. The fact can only be explained by influences from without, or by contact with tribes possessing a higher degree of civilization. Again, people make different uses of their cultural possessions. The Tungus, a Mongolian people, chiefly nomads, dwelling in eastern and central Siberia, ride their reindeer, while other Siberian tribes

¹ This chapter is taken from Muntch, Albert, S. J., *Evolution and Culture*. Herder.

² "The Determinants of Culture," in *Culture and Ethnology*, 1917.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 80.

harness them to a sledge. Facts like these justify the inference that cultural phenomena "cannot involve the assumption of an organic law of cultural evolution that would necessarily produce the observed effect."

Dr W I Thomas¹ is equally emphatic in asserting that we cannot "look too curiously into the order of emergence of inventions, nor assume a straight and uniform line of development among all races." Again, "the attempt to classify culture by epochs is similarly doomed to failure when made too absolutely. The frugivorous, the hunting, the pastoral, and the agricultural are the stages usually assumed. But the Indian was a hunter, while his squaw was an agriculturist. The African is pastoral, agricultural or hunting indifferently, without regard to his cultural status. And the ancient Mexicans were agricultural but had never had a pastoral period."

It is worthy of note that two of the ethnologists mentioned above, Fr Koppers and Dr Lowie, have arrived independently at important conclusions which have shaken the foundations of all strictly evolutionary explanations of social progress, that is, evolutionary, in the sense of Herbert Spencer and J G Frazer, who try to establish the theory of cultural evolution. These conclusions effectively demolish, at the same time, the basis of materialistic socialism.

2. No Basis for the Theory of Sexual Promiscuity.—The most important of these conclusions is that among "primitives" there exists a well-regulated family life and that there is no evidence of a widespread promiscuity.

In his retiring address as president of the Anthropological Society of Washington (May, 1917), Dr John R Swanton, of the Bureau of American Ethnology, referred to "theories of sexual promiscuity" as follows:

"When the basal facts upon which they [these theories] rested were critically examined, only another house of cards was revealed. It had to be admitted that the stage of absolute promiscuity exists nowhere today and must remain purely hypothetical, that the cases of so-called group marriage are ridiculously few to form a base for such a structure, that polyandry and polygamy existed side by side with monogamy, and were largely to be explained by economic and social conditions, and could not be shown to be older than the monogamy which they accompanied."²

¹ *Source Book for Social Origins*, pp 25, 26

² *American Anthropologist*, n s, Vol XIX, 1917, pp 459-470

Dr R H Lowie¹ takes this position and cites further evidence. He refers to "the pretentious terms *group marriage* or *sexual communism*," as employed by evolutionists. Again he says,² "Polygamy is one of those dangerous catchwords that requires careful scrutiny lest there result a total misunderstanding of the conditions it is meant to characterize." Hasty travelers who pretend to know much about "sexual communism" among primitives are the last to give heed to this admonition about "careful scrutiny."

These conclusions, so clearly expressed and so well documented (notice the list of first-hand authorities at the end of every chapter in Lowie's book), have also been reached by Rev Dr William Koppers. In 1922 he undertook a most successful expedition to Tierra del Fuego. While among the Onas and Yagans, who are considered very low in the scale of culture, he was initiated in one of their secret societies, and so had every opportunity to learn their religious customs and social practices. He found a relatively high degree of monotheism, knowledge of the precepts of morality, and the monogamous family.

In a work published in 1921³ this eminent ethnologist takes up in seven chapters such important questions as "the first forms of property," "the primitive family and the primitive state," "the beginning of religion and morality." The entire investigation is not on *a priori* grounds, but in the light of data supplied by most recent ethnologic research.

3. Morgan's *Ancient Society* Untrustworthy.—The work of Dr Koppers is especially noteworthy for its splendid refutation of materialistic socialism. Bebel found no better "source" for his theories concerning the "evolution" of the family from a "stage of promiscuity" than Morgan's far-fetched and unproved "lines of human progress." *Ancient Society* became the Bible of German materialistic socialism, though, as is now admitted, the book is hopelessly antiquated. "In forty-three years so much has been done that it seems hardly worth while spending so much time noticing the arguments which are now no longer put forth"⁴.

¹ *Primitive Society*, p. 54.

² *Ibid.*, p. 40.

³ *Die Anfänge des menschlichen Gemeinschaftslebens im Spiegel der neueren Völkerkunde*. Volksvereins-Verlag, M. Gladbach.

⁴ *American Journal of Sociology*, September, 1921, p. 243. See also preface to *Primitive Society*.

Nor do we care to notice any of the vagaries of Morgan. It is more to the point to give some of the positive testimony in favor of the presence among "primitives" of one of the most important institutions of human society — the monogamous family, though the subject will be treated more fully in the next chapter. This testimony is of the highest order, since it is given by scholars who devoted special attention to the tribes whose cultural life they have described.

4. The Negritos of the Malay Peninsula. — W. W. Skeat, who has written "one of the best studies" on Malay magic, is the co-author with C. E. Blagden, of *Pagan Races of the Malay Peninsula*.¹ Of the Negritos, Skeat says, "All indications point to the fact that, once married, the parties remain true to one another, and cases of infidelity are extremely rare."

B. Malinowski says in his *The Family among the Australian Aborigines*, 1913, that "in the majority of cases marriage lasts for life, or at least for a long time. But in any case the opinion that the primitive family is an unstable organization — forming and reforming itself — very often under the impulse of the moment without any regard for life partnership, is proved absolutely false in the light of Australian data." Finally, W. H. R. Rivers, an eminent English anthropologist, is opposed to every theory which would derive human society from a condition of promiscuity, whether the latter be of the type properly so called, or exist in the form of group marriage.²

Professor Wundt³ of Leipzig says "What is the condition of marriage and the family in this stage (*Urstufe*)? To one accepting the widespread hypothesis about the primitive herdlike condition the answer is surprising. Everywhere among these tribes, you find monogamy not only as the prevailing type of marriage, but as the most natural — one man living with one woman for life."

TOPICS FOR DISCUSSION

- 1 What is the argument of Professor Boas against "unilinear evolution" of culture?
- 2 Do facts justify "the attempt to classify culture by epochs"?

¹ London, 1906, 2 vols.

² *Anthropological Essays Presented to E. B. Tylor*, p. 309. Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1907.

³ *Elemente der Völkerpsychologie*, pp. 35-51. Leipzig, 1912.

- 3 State some of the conclusions reached by Rev Dr Koppers from his study of the tribes of Tierra del Fuego
- 4 Give an instance of the high regard for the sanctity of the marriage bond among primitives
- 5 What is the opinion of Professor Wundt as to primitive monogamy?
- 6 Can you construct an argument of your own against "unilinear evolution" of culture? For instance, two nations in widely separated regions have institutions similar in all details — the jury system, a highly developed system of education, methods of treating the poor and the disabled — would it be necessary to say that both these nations passed through identically "the same stages" to arrive at this particular cultural acquisition?
- 7 Basing your reply on what you have learned from a study of the preceding question, would you say that civilization develops by some law inherent in the very nature of culture?
- 8 Read the article on Siouan tribes by Mooney in the *Catholic Encyclopedia*, and indicate the degree of culture these Indians possessed

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CHAPTER III

THE PRIMITIVE FAMILY, THE UNIT OF SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

1. The Fundamental Social Unit. — Sociologists speak of the family as the fundamental social unit, that is, as the fundamental group without which there could be no orderly and desirable social progress. It is also the typical primary group in which there is face-to-face communication and the closest cooperation in all matters making for the welfare of the individuals of the group. These primary groups, that is, a number of families banded together, constitute the earliest form of social organization, a community united to secure the welfare of all its components. This is the primitive State. The family precedes the State, it is prior to any definite type of tribal organization or government controlling the behavior of individuals of different families.

2. Importance of the Family. — The importance of the family in social life is also apparent from the fact that children receive their first training in this fundamental social institution. In the family circle the child first learns its social duties. It is taught to respect the rights of others and is shown the need of yielding at times to the wishes and desires of others. From the parents the child generally receives its first notions of religion, of God and of the worship man owes to a Supreme Being. Finally, the family even precedes the school as an educational agency, at least in the order of time. For the child mind is first developed by contact with the other members of the family. Communication with the members of this primary group develops the faculty of speech and so implants the rudiments of knowledge.

This high rating of the family as "the social world in miniature," in which practically all the relationships that characterize social life in general are found, is accepted by all sociologists. But there is by no means a similar unanimity concerning the status of the primitive family. In fact, the easy theory of "innate and uniform

laws of social evolution," which exist only in the minds of some writers, is here applied much to the detriment of the scientific study of early family life. One of the most quoted writers of this school is, as we have seen, L. H. Morgan, author of a work on *Ancient Society*. He has developed what one sociologist calls "an extremely interesting and ingenious theory of the evolution of the family." But it is at the same time thoroughly false.

Dow, who calls Morgan's classification "suggestive" as well as "interesting and ingenious," admits that it "has not generally been accepted among sociologists." Unfortunately, however, such unfounded terms as "evolution of family life" are so current in works of sociology treating on the family, that some further arguments in criticism of the phrase must be added to those given in the preceding chapter.

3. Morgan's Erroneous Preconception. — Dr. Lowie has given us the soundest criticism of Morgan's scheme and asserts that Morgan "made no pretense at producing empirical proof of pristine promiscuity." But he was so carried away by his preconceptions that, not having found just what he wanted among the American aborigines to fit to his classificatory scheme, he went to the tribes of Polynesia. But, says Lowie,¹ "had Morgan not been smitten with purblindness by his theoretical prepossessions, he might well have paused before ascribing to the Polynesians the part they play in his scheme. For the aboriginal civilization of Polynesia, instead of suggesting by its crudeness an extreme antiquity for any and all of its constituents, must rank among the very noblest of cultures devoid of the metallurgical art. When Morgan assigned to this settled, politically organized, and marvelously æsthetic race the lowest status among surviving divisions of mankind, he attained the high-water level of absurdity, which accounts of Oceanian exploration, accessible even in his day, would have sufficed to expose."

Anthropologists agree in saying that some of the most primitive of extant tribes are the Andaman Islanders. Yet these primitives are remarkable for the purity of their family life. Mr. E. H. Man,² one of the best authorities on these people, says "We have been told that the system of communal marriage prevails among them and that marriage is nothing more than providing oneself with a slave. But the marriage contract is so far from being a temporary

¹ *Primitive Society*, p. 57.

² *On the Aboriginal Inhabitants of the Andaman Islands*. London, 1883.

makeshift, which can be disregarded at the will of either one of the two parties, that not even difference of temperament or any other cause can sunder the union. While polygamy, polyandry, and divorce are unknown, marital fidelity unto death is not the exception, but the rule. Domestic quarrels, which are of rather rare occurrence, are easily settled with or without intervention of friends."

In spite of this telling testimony erroneous teachings concerning the primitive family are often found in sociologic writings. In a chapter on "The Social Composition," Professor Giddings¹ writes "Among savages generally, desertion, divorce, and remarriage are extremely frequent."

This is a specimen of the unsound generalization that characterizes a good deal of writing in our sociologic texts. Wild statements of this kind have become traditional in certain schools, while contrary facts are carefully left unnoticed or unexplained. As regards the three social plagues referred to by Professor Giddings, we should remember that there is only one nation in the world today which holds a higher (or lower) record than the United States. This is Japan. So we may wonder whether Giddings considers them as evils or as desirable manifestations of social life.

4. Views of Giddings. — It is Giddings's opinion on "the family life of the primitive man" that we wish to examine. He gives it in the following words:² "There is at least a reasonable presumption that the family of the primitive man was an intermediate development between the family of the highest animals and that of the lowest living man. If so, it was a simple pairing family, easily dissolved, and perhaps rarely lasting for life."

In support of his "reasonable presumption," Giddings refers in a footnote to Westermarck, *History of Human Marriage*, pages 14, 15, and 50.

But a careful reading of the pages referred to shows that not only is there no "reasonable presumption" for Giddings's opinion, but that Westermarck has given no stronger proofs anywhere in his book for the relatively high moral state of the primitive family.

The sentence in Giddings leading up to the "reasonable presumption" reads as follows:

"Living in environments more favorable than those of the lowest hordes of today, primitive men were probably often massed in rela-

¹ *The Principles of Sociology*, 1904

² *Ibid.*, p. 264

tively large bands, and their sexual relations may therefore have been even more irregular than those of any existing horde" ¹

Now compare this statement with Westermarck ² "With the exception of a few cases in which tribes are asserted to live together promiscuously — almost all of which assertions I shall prove further on to be groundless — travelers unanimously agree that in the human race the relations of the sexes are, as a rule, of more or less durable character. The family, consisting of father, mother, and offspring, is a universal institution, whether founded on a monogamous, polygamous, or polyandrous marriage"

All that Giddings can say in answer to the charge of misinterpreting his "sources" is that he refers to the edition of 1891 (in his bibliography, page 432), whereas the present writer quotes from the third edition (1901), but W. I. Thomas informs us that there are "no important changes from the first edition". In fact, in the latest (fifth) edition of his work (1922) Westermarck reiterates his earlier opinion more emphatically in the following heading ³ "No known savage people living in promiscuity, the hypothesis of a general stage of promiscuity entirely groundless, sexual relations most nearly relating to promiscuity not found among the very lowest races, but among more advanced people"

We quote Westermarck's final sentence from his "Criticism of the Hypothesis of Promiscuity" ⁴

"There is not a shred of genuine evidence for the notion that promiscuity ever formed a general stage in the social history of mankind. The hypothesis of promiscuity, instead of belonging, as Professor Giraud-Teulon thinks, to the class of hypotheses which are scientifically permissible, has no real foundation, and is essentially unscientific"

5. Promiscuity Unknown among Truly Primitive People. —

If we examine family life among the primitive tribes of South Africa — that is, among tribes untouched by civilization — we again find a picture totally different from that painted by the adherents of the evolutionary school of culture. And in the case of the African Pygmies we have a witness of unimpeachable authority. It is Bishop Le Roy who wrote a book on *The Religion of the Primi-*

¹ Giddings, *op cit*, p. 264

² *Op cit*, pp. 14, 15

³ Vol. I, Chap. III

⁴ Edition of 1901, p. 133

tives, but did not write it until he had spent thirty-two years with his black flock. He went to Africa in 1877, beginning work there on the east coast, and published his book in 1909. He possesses a thorough knowledge of the language of the Bantu and was enrolled as a member of one of their totemistic societies.

Bishop Le Roy¹ says at the beginning of his first chapter on "The Primitive and the Family," that "among primitive tribes of Africa, as well as those of other countries, the family is the central pillar with which religion and the whole social life is linked. If the family is solidly established, the tribe is prosperous, but if it breaks up, the tribe becomes weakened, and if, as happens on the coast and in European districts, it is dissolved entirely, the tribe disappears."

Taking up the statement of a French sociologist, Gustave Le Bon, who says that at the beginning of human society we find everywhere "*la promiscuité générale*," Bishop Le Roy says "It is possible that this herdlike condition may have existed among some especially wretched human groups (*quelques groupements humains*). But before changing such an hypothesis into an incontestable truth, it would be wise to establish it by definite facts. The one certain fact is this: that nowhere in Africa today can we find traces of this promiscuity except in the vast steppes of the eastern and southern zones — among herds of antelopes. As to man, the closer we come toward the people of a generally primitive nature (*d'aspect général primitif*), as are the Negritos and the Fan, the more evidence we find of family life, of the family precisely as the fundamental, necessary, and unshaken basis of society."

It is gratifying to place this clear testimony, so directly opposed to the "stage of sexual communism as it is pictured by Morgan's school," beside the equally vigorous conclusion of Dr. Lowie:² "Sexual communism as a condition taking the place of the individual family exists nowhere at the present time, and the arguments for its former existence must be rejected as unsatisfactory. This con-

¹ Le Roy, Mgr, *La Religion des Primitifs*, Paris, 1900. An English translation of this scholarly work has been prepared by Rev. Newton Thompson, under the title *The Religion of the Primitives*. The publishers' notice correctly says of it that it is a "missionary work that reads like a fascinating adventure story, a new and attractive exploration into the depths of the human soul, one long proof that men are incurably religious."

² *Op. cit.*, p. 62

clusion will find confirmation in the phenomena of primitive family life "

6. A Difference between Primitives and More Advanced Tribes.

— On the basis of these facts we see that it is unscientific to speak of the evolution of the family from a brute condition in which lust ruled supreme. If the picture here presented has also its darker features, we are not surprised. The utopia, where perfect peace and harmony prevail and where the strong never oppresses the weak, is found only in the regions of romance. It is at least definitely established that the lurid portrayal of "primitive savage life" as a stage abounding in every abomination is false. In fact, later periods show the dominance of ugly excesses like cannibalism and human sacrifice, whereas during the childhood of the race man worshipped the deity by offering the fruits of the earth, by prayer and by rites which were free from the grossness of later periods. As regards human sacrifice among highly cultured races, it is only necessary to recall the highly developed civilization of the Aztecs of ancient Mexico and their inhuman practices at the shrine of the god of war. Such abominations did not vitiate the culture of the real primitives like the Pygmies of Africa and of the Andaman Islands, the Veddas of Ceylon and the Australian aborigines.

Again, the Bassonge of the interior of Africa occasionally practiced ferocious cannibalism. Yet, according to the testimony of a close observer,¹ "these cannibal Bassonge were, according to the types we met with, one of those rare nations of the African interior which can be classed with the most æsthetic and skilled, most discreet and intelligent of all those generally known to us as the so-called natural races. Before the Arabic and European invasion they did not dwell in 'hamlets' but in towns with twenty or thirty thousand inhabitants, in towns whose highways were shaded by avenues of splendid palms planted at regular intervals and laid out with the symmetry of colonnades." It will be noted, therefore, that degrading practices are found among the more cultured races and not among primitive people.

7. A True Picture of the Primitive Family. — Speaking of the high status of the primitive family, Lowie² refers to the amicable division of labor which is found between man and wife among the lower races.

¹ Frobenius, Leo, *The Voice of Africa*, p. 14

² *Primitive Society*, p. 66

"In central Australia there is a similar division of labor, and from Dr Malmowski's compilation of facts it is clear that throughout the continent the individual family on this basis normally constitutes a definitely segregated unit. As Mr Brown remarks regarding the west Australian Kariera, 'the unit of social life in the Kariera tribe was the family, consisting of a man and his wife or wives and their children. Such a unit might move about by itself without reference to the movements of the other families of the local group. In the camp each family had its own hut or shelter with its own fire. The family had its own food supply, which was cooked and consumed by the family. The man provided the flesh food, and his wife provided the vegetable food and such things as small mammals or lizards.' The economic and industrial relations of the Ewe mates are regulated with equal definiteness. It is the husband's duty to furnish meat and fish, and the wife's to supply salt, both share the horticultural work, the woman spins, while the man weaves and mends the clothing.

"Such facts might be multiplied indefinitely. On the strength of this universal trait we are justified in concluding that, regardless of all other social arrangements, the individual family is an omnipresent social unit."

The conclusion which this author draws from such facts, which could easily be multiplied, is the following: ¹ "The one fact stands out beyond all others, that everywhere the husband, wife, and immature children constitute a unit apart from the remainder of the community."

8. Position of Women and Treatment of Children among Primitives. — The treatment of women, of old persons, and of children in the primitive family is what, in the light of modern standards, may be called "humane." This statement is opposed to evolutionary speculations, according to which barbarism and brute force rule primitive tribes, while altruism and consideration for the weaker brethren come only at a later stage. So say the evolutionists. But what are the facts?

Scholarly research gives us just the reverse of the imaginary picture of the evolutionists, according to which woman is the abject slave of her physically stronger consort, loaded down with intolerable burdens, driven and maltreated like an animal. The man is alleged to have taken things easily, to have had "a good time" in sport and revelry. So say Lubbock and some socialist writers like Bebel.

¹ *Ibid*, p. 67

What we have already said about the prevalence of monogamy shows that the picture drawn by the evolutionary delirium is false. Those who have had opportunity to study particular tribes more intimately admit this charge against the evolutionists.

Seligmann writes in his book on the Veddas that "in every respect women seem to be treated equally with men. They eat the same food, and when we gave the men presents of eatables, they apparently offered the women and children their share." Hewitt knew of several cases among the Kulin and Chepara, tribes of southeast Australia, of men carrying their wives, who were too old or infirm, over long distances. Man says of the Andaman Islanders that they treat wives in such a considerate manner, as to be models for certain classes among European nations.

9. Treatment of Women among American Indians.—Seldom has popular fallacy run riot so wildly as in this point—the condition of woman in primitive society. Mr J N B Hewitt says that this is the case concerning woman among the American Indians. "One of the most erroneous beliefs relating to the status and condition of the American Indian woman is that she was, both before and after marriage, the abject slave and drudge of the men of her tribe in general. This view, due largely to inaccurate observation and misconception, was correct, perhaps, at times, as to a small percentage of the tribes and peoples whose social organization was of the most elementary kind, politically and ceremonially, and especially of such tribes as were nonagricultural."

Mr Hewitt then quotes several authorities on the treatment of Indian women by the stronger sex, and continues "From what has been said it is evident that the authority possessed by the Indian husband over his wife or wives was far from being as absolute as represented by careless observers, and there is certainly no ground for saying that the Indians generally kept their women in a condition of absolute subjection. The available data show that while the married woman, because of her status as such, became a member of her husband's household and owed him certain important duties and obligations, she enjoyed a large measure of independence and was treated with great consideration and deference, and had a marked influence over her husband. Of course, various tribes had different conditions to face, and possessed different institutions, and so it happens that in some tribes the wife was the equal of her hus-

band, and in others she was his superior in many things, as among the Iroquois and tribes similarly organized"¹

E H Man states expressly that child murder is unknown among the Andaman Islanders. And it is generally admitted that these people, as well as the Bushmen of South Africa, the Australian aborigines, and the Fuegians of South America, are "the lowest peoples in the point of culture"

A W Howitt says² that "in his childhood the young Kurnai is an object of pride and of love on the part of father and mother. From my own observation among different tribes in widely separated parts of Australia, I can confidently say that love of children is a characteristic trait of the aborigines"

10. Moral Instruction of Australian Youths.—Howitt has described the initiatory rites for young men practiced among the Kurnai of southeast Australia. At these ceremonies the young men are introduced to the knowledge of Mungan ngaua (our Father) by the chieftain. In connection with this instruction the young men are taught the following moral lessons: (1) To listen to their parents and to obey them. (2) To share their possessions with their friends. (3) To live in peace with their associates. (4) To respect the chastity of girls and married women. (5) To observe the food laws until they are dispensed therefrom by their elders.

In view of this relationship between parent and child, says Fr Koppers, it is improbable that the child grew up without any instruction. Of course, the contrary is asserted by numerous writers. But this view is today a thing of the past. It is contradicted by first-hand evidence showing the training and even careful upbringing bestowed upon their children by primitives.

11. Training of Children among Veddass of Ceylon.—C G and B Z Seligmann say³ "When a child is about six or eight years of age, it is expected that he will behave properly of his own accord, and strange to say, this is the case. The Veddass give systematic instruction to the boys in the collection of honey and in hunting, while the girl is taught how to gather plants. And this ancient and

¹ *Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico*. Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 30, Part 2, "Woman."

² *The Native Tribes of Southeast Australia*. London, 1904.

³ *The Veddass*. Cambridge, 1911.

probably aboriginal people of Ceylon is considered "among the lowest in culture" In the Evahlayi tribe, in the northwestern part of New South Wales, the mother even sings a ditty to her babe which contains sound advice for the future years

Be good, steal not,
Touch not what belongs to others;
Let all things stay where they are;
Be good

As regards the Negritos of the Philippine Islands, A B Meyer says "As soon as the old persons can no longer support themselves, they are taken care of by their respective families"

TOPICS FOR DISCUSSION

- 1 What is the importance of the family in social organization?
- 2 Why is it a "primary group"?
- 3 What is the relation of the family to the State?
- 4 What is the attitude of modern ethnology toward L H Morgan's theory of the "evolution of the family"?
- 5 What do we know of family life among some very primitive people?
- 6 What is the verdict of Bishop Le Roy on family life among the African Pygmies?
- 7 What was the position of woman in primitive society? Is it true that she was everywhere treated as a "slave"?
- 8 Did abominations like human sacrifice exist among really primitive people?
- 9 Is the monogamous family the best type of this fundamental social institution? Why?
- 10 What has Christianity done for woman and for the preservation of the monogamous family?
- 11 What is the position of women among the Veddas, a very primitive people?
- 12 What does Mr Hewitt say about the lot of women among our Indian tribes?
- 13 What moral lessons were given to the young among the Australian Kurnai?

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CHAPTER IV

PRIVATE PROPERTY AMONG PRIMITIVES¹

As socialist writers like Engels and Bebel repeat *ad nauseam* that the monogamous family is the product of "slow evolution," so, too, would they try to make their adherents believe that the "property sense" is a matter of "social evolution." In fact, socialists sometimes assert that the Christian Church has carefully developed these two institutions for its own selfish (¹) purpose and in order to play into the hands of the wealthier classes. Even in some of the sociologic texts we may find references to the growth of the idea of "private property." It seems that evolutionary spectacles make some writers blind to facts.

For what are the facts in the case? The answer is that the primitives—namely the tribes lowest in the cultural scale—have a fully developed notion of private property. Hence it is nonsense to speak of "the evolution of that idea."

1. Why Do Socialists Reject the Fact of Private Property among Primitives?—We find the answer to this question in Lowie's words: ² "Those who set out with the evolutionary dogma that every social condition now found in civilization must have developed from some condition far removed from it through a series of transitional stages will consistently embrace the hypothesis that the property sense so highly developed with us was wholly or largely wanting in primitive society, that it must have evolved from its direct antithesis, communism in goods of every kind. This assumption is demonstrably false."

Verily, in this case, the wish was "father to the thought." Nor does it help the evolutionist much to quote *Ancient Law* of Sir Henry Maine, who holds "that joint ownership and not separate ownership is the really archaic institution." For as Lowie adds, "Joint ownership is by no means necessarily communal ownership." It

¹ This chapter is taken from Muntzsch, Albert, S. J., *Evolution and Culture* Herder

² *Op cit.*, p. 205

may be explained by peculiar social conditions, or systems of kinship, obtaining among some people

2. Who Are the "Primitives" ? — Anthropologic science to-day recognizes certain tribes as lowest in the point of culture. They are not the American Indians but "certain isolated groups that live almost in a state of nature, without any attempt to cultivate the soil or to control nature in other respects"¹. Among them are the Australian aborigines, the Veddas of Ceylon, the Fuegians of Tierra del Fuego, the Bushmen of South Africa, the Negritos (a Pygmean people) of the Philippine Islands and of the Andaman Islands.

The verdict of ethnology, as just stated, is that individuals of these tribes possessed private property, in the modern acceptance of the phrase. Rev. Dr. Koppers has a chapter on "The First Forms of Property" in his book on *The Beginnings of Human Society in the Light of Recent Ethnology*. It is a real pleasure to read a chapter of this kind. Here there are no groundless suppositions, no "assumptions based on indirect evidence," no clauses like "we may now suppose," "we may readily believe," etc., but statements of facts.

Fr. Koppers first subjects the theory of a primitive communism in land to criticism and shows how even this theory does not hold good in the light of ethnologic facts. Upholders of "land communism" pointed to the Russian *Mir*, local, rural communities, in which the land is held in common, the parts of it devoted to cultivation being allotted by general vote to the several families for varying terms. But this institution dates back only to the thirteenth century, while other communistic ventures arose only in the eighteenth. It is rather strange, comments Fr. Koppers, to attempt to prove original communal possession in land from such examples.

3. Private Property in Foodstuffs. — As to the acquisition and consumption of foodstuffs, evolutionary theories take two directions. Some writers hold that they were held in communal possession, others, led by Karl Buecher, maintain that the individual kept everything for himself (*individuelle Nahrungssuche*). Neither of the two opinions is correct.

We have already pointed out the fixed status of the primitive family, and herein the Pygmean peoples (Bushman and Negritos) rank deservedly high. If the family is a stable social unit (consisting of man, wife, and children), it follows that it is also an

¹ Ellwood, Charles A., *Sociology and Modern Social Problems*, p. 93

economic unit. The food belonged to the family. And here we see the sociologic principle strikingly illustrated — that the family was the first economical unit, inasmuch as the economic life of all the peoples first centered about the household, and that within the family the first division of labor takes place, the first cooperation between individuals.

Is all this true of the "primitives"? Absolutely so. The more primitive a people and the more it represents what for want of a better term may be called "the acquisitive type," the more clearly the domestic or family character of its economic life appears. And this holds good for the production, as well as for the consumption, of foodstuffs. The members of the family, especially man and wife, produce what the same family, with the children, consume.

R. Martin says that this is true of the tribes of the Malay Peninsula.¹ P. and F. Sarasin and Seligmann say the same of the Veddas of Ceylon, "one of the lowest human groups," while E. H. Man found similar conditions among the people he studied intensely — the Andaman Islanders. But even in these most primitive cultures, eatables are not the only kind of private property. Weapons, tools, garments, canoes, etc., are respected as individual possessions. One of the firm conclusions of modern ethnology is that nowhere upon earth are found people without these evidences of culture. The Eskimos have often been referred to as practicing primitive communism of goods. But A. N. Gilbertson has shown that what is used by the individual is likewise individual property, for example, his kayak or canoe, his hunting gear, weapons, etc. The high regard of the Eskimo for private property is praised by Cartwright, who spent sixteen years among them. "There is no people under the sun to whom I would more willingly entrust my person and property."

The Veddas and the Bushmen designate with a "mark" beehives discovered by them in the forests or on cliffs, whereby these objects become private property and are respected as such. Man says of the Andaman Islanders that they will not take what belongs to a friend or neighbor. W. W. Skeat gives similar testimony regarding the Aborigines of Malacca.

4. Private Property in Land. — Even as regards private property in "real estate," lands, and fields, the careful study of facts reveals a picture quite different from that of the evolutionists.

¹ *Die Inlandstämme der Malayischen Halbinsel*, Jena, 1905. A work characterized by Professor W. I. Thomas as one of the greatest of all German monographs.

It is true that often not an individual or a family was the owner of land but a group composed of three, four, or more families. But this is explicable from the prevailing form of economic life. The land is regarded as a hunting ground or a place for gathering herbs, but after individual labor has been expended on the ground, as for instance, when the woman begins agricultural work, the land passes to private ownership. Lowie shows that, even when possession was communal, ownership was restricted to certain persons. For "virtual communism for members of the tribe was coupled by these people with zealous exclusion of all aliens. The tribe regarded a certain area as its hereditary grounds, open to exploitation by any native, but it resented trespassing by others. An intruder on Thompson River (British Columbia) territory forfeited his life, and the Maidu safeguarded their boundary lines by an elaborate system of sentry service."

Writing in the *Handbook of American Indians*, Miss Alice C. Fletcher, a well-known authority on Indian life and culture, says "Broadly speaking, Indian property was personal. Clothing was owned by the wearer, whether man, woman, or child. Weapons and ceremonial paraphernalia belonged to the man, the implements used in cultivating the soil, in preparing food, in dressing skins, and making garments and tent covers, and among the Eskimo the lamp, belonged to the women. In many tribes all raw materials, as meat, corn, and, before the advent of traders, pelts were also her property. Among the tribes of the Plains the lodge or tipi was the woman's but on the northwest coast the wooden structures belonged to the men of the family. For instance, among the Menominee a family would mark off a section by twisting in a peculiar knot the stalks of wild rice growing along the edge of the section chosen, this knotted mark would be respected by all members of the tribe, and the family could take its own time for gathering the crop."¹

In fact, not only does the American Indian hold fast to his material possessions, but even "immaterial goods" like songs, rituals, stories, and legends, are private property, for among several tribes the right to a song belonging to a tribesman can be secured only on payment of "good money."

5. "Incorporeal Property" Rights.—We have just referred to the American Indian's custom of safeguarding possession of "incorporeal property." Dr. Lowie says on this point ² "Contrary to

¹ Vol. II, Bulletin 30, Bureau of American Ethnology, Washington, 1910

² *Op. cit.*, p. 235, 236

what might be supposed, the notion of patents or copyrights is well-developed in the lower reaches of civilization, and its prominence among certain peoples reduces the dogma of a universal primitive communism to a manifest absurdity

Among the natives of British Columbia the Nootka are conspicuous for the number and variety of their intangible goods "

Again, " the individualistic character of incorporeal property is on the whole strongly marked among the Indians of the Plains

I know of a Crow who bought the right of using a special kind of ceremonial paint from his own mother, and the Hidatsa medicine bundles, uniformly derived from ancestral visions and hereditary in certain families, must nevertheless be bought by sons from their own fathers "

This abundant testimony of the presence of the " property sense " in primitive communities proves the fallacy of the opinion, still dogmatically maintained in some texts, that private ownership is a late development Among the *Urvoelker*, " primitive peoples," we find this important social institution as definitely established as in our own communities

CHAPTER V

PRIMITIVE RELIGION

1. Comparative Method. — Since the discovery (about the last quarter of the eighteenth century) of the Vedas, the sacred books of ancient India, a new method has characterized the study of religion. This is the comparative method, based on a comparative study of a group of related objects or phenomena. Much light was thrown upon the origin of certain Christian practices by a more critical study of Christian origins in the light of certain pre-Christian religions. Authorities like Rev Dr P W Schmidt, S V D, Fr Pinard, S J, Père Hippolyte Delehaye, S J, the famous Bollandist, and Joseph Dahlmann, S J, have contributed to this study of Christian beliefs. But they have also pointed out how imagination easily runs riot in this field and how a vague similarity readily explicable has often led to false and vicious generalizations. Notable offenders in this respect whose "high-piling hypotheses" are no longer accepted are Solomon Reinach, Mauss, Durkheim, Albert Reville, Loisy, Sir J G Frazer, Pfeleiderer, Renan, and others.

2. Buddhism and Christianity. — A well-known instance of the ease with which careless observers of religious practices fell into the error of relating totally unrelated phenomena is offered by the many attempts that have been made to establish the dependence of Christianity upon Buddhism. The familiar *post hoc, ergo, propter hoc* fallacy was about the only clue that guided many observers in proving to their own satisfaction that Christianity with its world-saving belief was merely an adaption in Judaic vesture of the life and precepts of the oriental sage, Gautama Buddha. And yet the latest word of historic scholarship on the occasionally striking coincidences between Buddhist and Christian teaching is that the obligation and borrowings are just the reverse, and are due to the influence of Christianity upon Buddhism in the second and third centuries of our era. This is the opinion of such scholars as Rev Dr Koppers. Referring to the supposed relations between Christianity

and Buddhism, he says ¹ "Investigations of this question generally proceeded on the assumption that the borrowing was on the side of Christianity. We must remember, however, from the outset, that the number of earnest and reliable scholars who held that there is a close relation between the two religions was never very large. It was felt that not many laurels were to be won in this field, and so it became the battle ground for sciolists and dilettanti. The history of this controversy is very instructive as regards the exceptional position of Christianity, which always appears the more strikingly whenever the opportunity is given to examine scientifically the merits of the two opposing systems. Gross counterfeits were at first the order of the day, but now those are in the company of the foremost Buddhist scholars, like Oldenberg, Vallée Poussin, E Hardy, Joseph Dahmann, S J, Windisch, etc., who refuse to admit any connection between Christianity and Buddhism."

3. A Great Indologist on Christianity and Buddhism. — One of the leading Sanscrit scholars of Europe, the late Professor Leopold Schroeder of the University of Vienna, has expressed in eloquent language the immeasurable superiority of Christianity over Buddhism. "However great be the work of Buddha," he writes, "however great he appear as one of the undoubted heroes of humanity — we have more, we have something higher and nobler. We have in Christ, the Son of God, the hero and victor who has not only appealed to the heart of humanity with powerful doctrine, words, and parables, but Him who gave His life for us, who shed His Blood for us, and has taken away our sins in the ocean of His love and grace. He does not bring us relief from life and therefore pain — nay, He offers us redemption from sin and thus opens to us the way to eternal union with God, where there are neither pains, nor tears, nor clamor and grief, but life — the eternal, blessed life of children before the face of their father. He teaches that sorrow, in so far as we have to put up with it in this vale of tears, is not the greatest of evils — no, He lets us look more deeply and shows us in sorrow the wonderful blessing of the Cross, lifts us out of that sorrow and changes grief and death to a gateway to victory, leading to that higher life which knows neither death nor pain. We have Him who from His rood throws new light and beauty on the mandate, 'Love your enemies.' And we have not only the belief in a moral order in the universe —

¹ "Buddhismus und Christenthum," *Jahrbuch von St Gabriel*, p 169 Moedling bei Wien, 1925

we have also a God from whom this order is derived and who is and wants to be our Father for all eternity, a God whose merciful love has been manifested in Christ, yea, a God who is Himself love and truth Truly, here is more than Buddha and Buddhism " ¹

Even the domain of art is a witness to historic truth in this question For the interesting researches of Rev Joseph Dahlmann, S J, into the origin of what is known as "Gandhara art" of India show that Greek and Roman ideals had found entrance into India as early as the third century after Christ, giving rise to an entire school of sculpture by Indian artists whose works, fashioned under such influence, are known as "Gandhara art" In the same way Christian concepts and practices were carried by traders to the shores of India and colored religious ideas already known through the teachings of Gautama Buddha Fr Delehay, S J, offers suggestions which ought to be heeded by both the advocates and the opponents of the comparative method in the study of Christian origins "It would be unjust to seek to discredit the study of comparative religion," he says, "by insisting too much upon the excesses of those who have sinned in these questions by exaggeration or by carelessness The problem confronting us ought to be seriously considered, despite the obscurity that invests it" ² But on the other hand, "it would indeed be cause for surprise if the Church, seeking to establish itself in the midst of the Græco-Roman civilization, had adopted an entirely new language to speak to the people and had systematically rejected all the forms used until then to express religious sentiments" ³

4. Christianity and Pre-Christian Religions. — Though the theory that Christianity is merely a development of pre-Christian religions and that it owes all its essential doctrines to earlier oriental beliefs is no longer maintained by reputable scholars, thoroughly false teachings concerning the origin of religion and the belief in God are conveyed in many sociologic texts Chief among these errors is the evolutionary doctrine on the origin and growth of religion Its defenders are by no means agreed as to the ultimate source of belief in and reverence for the supernatural The ghost theory was put forward by Spencer, but has no longer the following it once possessed "Fear of the ghost of an ancestor" is the briefest pos-

¹ *Reden und Aufsätze*, p 214 Leipzig, 1913

² Delehay, Hippolyte, S J, *Les Légendes Hagiographiques*

³ *Ibid*, p 169

sible statement of the Spencerian theory of belief in the supernatural

Blackmar and Gillin¹ are correct in saying that, "while the hypothesis is attractive, one feels that Spencer has failed to be convincing when he attempted to explain nature worship by the 'ghost theory'." Recent anthropologic research has established the fact that many primitive monotheistic people show no evidence whatever that fear of ghosts led to their religious beliefs

Other writers assert that fetishism, the lowest form of nature worship, gave rise to religion and to worship of the deity. A fetish is any object irrationally feared or loved because supposed to possess unknown or magical powers. Upholders of the "fetish theory" of the origin of religion say that ignorance of natural phenomena, in connection with a desire to know the cause of the latter, led to the belief in evil spirits whose wicked influence could be thwarted by magic. Magical incantations and formulas might turn aside the wrath of these beings who caused thunder and other natural phenomena. Gradually out of the vast number of fetishes and spirits one was acknowledged as especially powerful and would be regarded as supreme. This abject fear of ghosts and the desire to placate them are thus said to be responsible for the growth of religion.

Plausible as the theory may seem for accounting for the religious concepts of some tribes, it fails utterly when tested in the light of what we know about the religions of other primitive peoples. For instance, the Fan of western Africa practice fetishism, and yet they believe in a supreme ruler of the universe whose attributes are almighty, master and judge, king of kings, father of life. Fetishistic practices seem to develop from a belief in the survival of the soul after death. A witness of first importance for the relatively high idea of the Deity among the tribes of central Africa is Bishop Le Roy, whose book on *The Religion of Primitives*² is an authority on the subject and is the outcome of thirty-two years of missionary life on the Dark Continent.

Other observers also testify to the high religious concepts of the African natives. There is a tribe, the Akamba, who dwell in a vast territory in Kenya Colony, British East Africa. "They appear to recognize the existence of a high god, whom they call Mulungu or

¹ *Outlines of Sociology*, p. 243.

² Macmillan, 1924

Engai (Ngai), or sometimes Chua, which means the sun. They look upon him as the creator of all things"¹

The fact is that we have clear and well-authenticated reports of belief in the existence of a Supreme Being among primitives, the rewarder of good and the avenger of evil, in practically all quarters of the globe. A remarkable study of the wide prevalence of the idea of God among uncultured people was made many years ago by a scholarly investigator². Since then the wider extension of ethnologic research has verified his findings.

5. Religion Universal among Men.—Professor C. H. Toy of Harvard³ says that, "as far as our present knowledge goes, religion appears to be universal among men. There is no community of which we can say with certainty that it is without religion." We must likewise reject a "subreligious stage." For "there is at present no satisfactory historical evidence (whatever psychological ground there may be, or whatever deduction from the theory of evolution may seem necessary) of the existence of a subreligious stage of human life—a stage in which there is only a vague sense of some extrahuman power affecting man's interests, without definition of the power, and without attempt to enter into social relations with it."

Nor is there any admixture of fetishism, animism, or totemism in the religious notions of many of these tribes. In fact, monotheism is the primitive form of religion among primitive races, and the Supreme Being is regarded as creator. He watches over and rewards the actions of men, and, in the majority of cases, conduct is regarded as good or bad in as far as it is pleasing or displeasing to Him.

The prevalence of a pure monotheism without fear of ghosts or ancestor worship is also inferred from the similarity of names used in several Aryan or Indo-European languages to designate the Supreme Being. Among the Sanscrit-speaking people of ancient India he was Dyaush-pitar, among the Greeks, Zeus, among the Romans, Jupiter, while the ancient Germans called him Ziu. These words are etymologically related and refer to a similar supreme deity—the heaven father, to whom all human beings and all the things of earth are subject. That there was a deterioration of the high con-

¹ Frazer, Sir James G., *The Worship of Nature*, p. 246. Macmillan, 1926.

² Peech, Christian, S. J., *Gott und Goetter—eine Studie zur vergleichenden Religionswissenschaft*. Freiburg, 1890.

³ *Introduction to the History of Religions*, pp. 5, 6.

cept of the Deity in the course of time, that idolatry and the gross rites associated with certain primitive religions were subsequent developments, is the verdict of modern ethnology. Many primitive forms of belief acknowledge an evil deity beside a beneficent supreme ruler. But generally this evil spirit was under the power of the high god, who merely yielded part of his rule to the former. Wherever belief in ghosts existed, and that was almost everywhere, the transition to the idea that evil spirits (demons) were the secret enemies of man was readily made. Where there was no belief in ghosts, some of the gods were degraded to the rank of lower spirits. These spirits were propitiated by superstitious practices, or their evil influence was curtailed by the aid of powerful magicians. Thus arose ancestor worship, fetishism, animism, and totemism — all of them perversions of true religion, inasmuch as these spirits were feared and superstitious means were employed to gain their favor.

A striking example of the unusually high religious and spiritual status of a people which had long been considered as groveling in the lowest depths of barbarism comes from the Ona and Yagan — two Indian tribes of Tierra del Fuego. In 1922, Fr Koppers, S V D, and Fr M Gusinde, S V D, carried on extensive research among the remnants of these South American tribes which had been placed on the lowest rung of "human development" by Darwin, who had paid a brief visit to the country in 1846. By careful inquiry, the two scholars who had gained the fullest confidence of the tribe and had, to some extent, mastered their language, learned that there was a long-preserved tradition (long antedating the coming of the whites) of a supreme deity, all-wise and kind to the people. He was called "Wataunewa," and was invoked for help in many emergencies. Fr Koppers collected the prayers with which the people honored and invoked Wataunewa. They are beautiful and show a profound spirit of religious faith and of childlike confidence in the Supreme Ruler of heaven and earth. And this must be said of a people whom Darwin would have us regard as beings scarcely raised above the brute.¹

6. Monotheism in Africa. — And as we go round the world, we everywhere find vestiges of belief in one God, the Father of mankind. The dwellers round Lake Tanganyika, in central Africa, believe in a god and creator, Kabesa, who dwells in heaven, who ad-

¹ Koppers, P W, S V D, *Unter Feuerland-Indianern*, p 169 Stuttgart, 1924

mits the virtuous after death to his abode, but thrusts the wicked from his presence. And yet hasty travelers had accused these people of "godlessness" and of complete ignorance of supernatural ideas. Later researches have shown that this accusation was false. A missionary wrote to Cardinal Lavignerie in September 1882. "These poor negroes are very anxious for religious instruction and for the possession of eternal blessings"¹

The chief deity of the Polynesians is Tangaroa, who on account of his majesty and power has been compared with Zeus of the Greek pantheon. He is the god of heaven who built mansions for the gods and is the creator of man and of all things. The Andaman Islanders worship a supreme being under the name of Puluga, who resembles fire and is invisible and immortal. By him all things were made, evil excepted. He knows even the thoughts of the black people, he is offended by sin and injustice, dishonesty, theft, murder, and immorality. He helps those in distress and judges souls in the future life.

In fact, we may summarize these data by asserting that, though we do not always find the highest type of monotheism among people who have been outside the pale of supernatural revelation, yet there are traces of it among all the members of the Indo-European and Semitic family. These traces are still more evident among those primitive tribes of today which have not yet been touched by civilization. The more widely research among primitive tribes of today is extended, the more evidence of their monotheistic beliefs accumulates. Thus after careful research among the Jakudu of Malacca and the Kubu of Sumatra in 1925, P. Schebesta, S. V. D., says² that the opinion that the Kubu have no religion whatever is "to be classed among fables."

Sir J. G. Frazer himself, by no means prejudiced in favor of what may be called orthodox opinions in religion, admits the fallacy of looking to totemism for the origin of religion. It is a serious, though quite common, mistake to speak of the totem as a god and to allege that it is the recipient of a true cult on the part of the clan. If religion implies, as it seems, that the object of a cult is superior to the one practicing it, then, properly speaking, it is impossible to see in pure totemism a religion, since man looks upon

¹ Schneider, Wilhelm, *Die Religion der Afrikanischen Naturvölker*, p. 84. Paderborn, 1891.

² *Anthropos*, Vol. XXI, 1926, p. 630.

the totem as his equal and his friend, not at all as his superior and still less a god. Hence it is false to speak of totemism as a religion.¹

On the other hand, Frazer, like E. B. Tylor and Spencer, is often guilty of selecting and stressing those facts that may be useful to bolster up his theory of primitive religion. This unscientific method of procedure was deservedly condemned by Andrew Lang, a scholar of high authority in these questions. He says² that, while anthropology obstinately fixes its eyes upon totems and sacred mummies, upon the adoration of spirits and the cult of fetishes, it has not, as far as we can see, paid any attention to the nobler and purer religious ideas of savages. This is an indictment which all who are familiar with the older anthropologic literature must admit.

Herbert Spencer is an expert in grouping facts to suit his theories. Although he could frequently cite from the same page of his authorities instances of the high religious status of tribes as well as of their groveling condition, he omits the former and lays stress on the latter. Besides this, we must remember that Spencer is never an authority at first hand, but had his "data" collected by a band of hired amanuenses.

But this careless process has now been checked by the later school of anthropology which welcomes facts no matter whither they point. The regret is that so much of what Lowie calls the "refuse heap of anthropology" has been gathered into sociologic texts.

7. The Social Theory of the Origin of Religion. — The "evolution theory" of religion, as defended by Spencer and his school, has become more and more discredited owing to the larger accumulation of ethnologic data. It is the "social theory" which now captivates many minds. Chapters in books of sociology have such titles as "The Crowd Origin of Religion" or "The Social Genesis of Religion," etc. A fundamental fallacy underlies many of the arguments in support of the alleged "social" or "crowd" origin of religion. This fallacy is that the individual in primitive society counts for nothing, that he always depends on and never acts independently of his group, that he is "a socially bound herd animal"³ and never ventures upon a procedure or process not already sanctioned by his group. The fact is that among primitives we find "leading in-

¹ *Totemism and Exogamy*, Vol. IV, pp. 5, 76, 81. London, 1910.

² Lang, Andrew, *The Making of Religion*.

³ Ein sozial gebundenes Herdentier.

dividuals" and that the tribe does not present a dull, homogeneous mass of persons

Any one who has read the biographical sketches of the distinguished Indian chiefs and leaders in the *Handbook of American Indians* will admit this. We mention only Big Jim, Shawnee, Black Hawk, Sauk and Fox, Keokuk, of the same tribe, Chief Joseph, Nez Percé, Red Cloud, Sioux, Kanakuk, Kickapoo prophet, Osceola, Seminole leader, Ouray, Ute, Sequoya, inventor of the Cherokee alphabet, Tecumseh, Shawnee, etc. These men were not only noted for bravery on the warpath but were wise counsellors and orators

Dr Stephan states in his article, "Contributions to the Psychology of the Inhabitants of New Pomerania,"¹ that he was "surprised to find in each one of these 'wild men' an individual of distinct character and accomplishment, in direct opposition to the opinion which regards a primitive people as a horde of entirely similar individuals and which maintains that differences only come through education and culture." Again, the further back we go in the history of tribal culture, the less do magical practices dominate. This is especially apparent when comparing the Pygmies (the lowest of African tribes) with those of a higher culture.

A characteristic statement of the crowd or "social origin" theory of the rise of religion is given by Jane Ellen Harrison.²

"In the early days of group civilization man is altogether a religious animal, altogether under the sway of Themis, of the collective conscience. His religion, his representation, is that of a totem animal or plant, a mere projection of his sense of unity with his group and with the outside world. The obligation is so complete, so utterly dominant, that he is scarcely conscious of it. As the hold of the group slackens and the individual emerges, the field of religion is bit by bit narrowed. Man's latest religious representation is of that all but impossible conception, the god as individual."

The assertions of the preceding paragraph are not proved, despite the air of finality with which they are uttered. For instance, the further back we go in the history of tribal culture, the less do magical practices dominate. This is especially apparent, as was stated, when comparing the Pygmies (the lowest of African tribes) with those of a higher culture. Nor is totemism a universal trait

¹ *Globus*, Vol. LXXXVIII, 1905, p. 209

² *Themis, A Study of the Social Origins of Religion*

in the social organization of savage society. Hence it is not generally true that man's religion "in the early days of group civilization is that of a totem animal." It is assertions like these which vitiate many a chapter in texts on sociology.

8. The Theory of Durkheim. — However, it is the French school of sociology, under the leadership of Emil Durkheim,¹ which has gained largest influence during the last decade and whose unfounded theories are at times slavishly accepted by American writers. According to Durkheim, human societies obey instincts as do animal societies. Conscience and reason are nothing more than these same instincts preserved through the course of centuries, on account of their usefulness, and are later expressed in abstract language. They are ways of thinking and of acting in common which have now taken profound root and whose origin is lost in the morning of time. Hence their apparent necessity. But at bottom this necessity is only an old and useful prejudice, maintained through force of social sanctions or by the hope of assistance from others.²

The French sociologic school also teaches that, from the time that men have been grouped in families, hordes, clans, tribes, cities, and nations, common needs forced them to action. These common needs give rise to customs. We also call them duties. Conscience and reason are approved as good means to maintain unity of effort for mutual defense. The divine prestige with which they are endowed is only the overwhelming force of the group under mythic form. Duties have been formulated, but they are variable according to the environment. Societies that could not meet the requirements of such duties have disappeared. "Habitual customs become good morals, habits to which people have not become accustomed are bad." Thus writes that shallow skeptic Anatole France in *La Revue*, November 15, 1905. Again he says:³ "And precisely because morality is the sum of the prejudices in a community, two rival moral codes cannot exist at the same time and in the same place." This school claims to have shown the illusion of religious sanctions and to have proved that the best test of morality of an action is its tending to the common good. It holds that the method of the natural sciences ought to be applied in the study of religious origins. By this means "subjective" elements will be removed from the inter-

¹ *The Elementary Forms of Religion*

² Habert, O., *L'École Sociologique et les Origines de la Morale*

³ *The Wickerwoman*, p. 318

pretation of religious activities. The manifestation of religious life among primitive people is said to be the best source for the study of religious origins.

We recognize the importance of primitive religion for such knowledge, but do not accept any of Durkheim's fallacies. As we shall see, Lowie in his recent work,¹ rejects Durkheim's "deification of society," and so does the well-known ethnologist Fr Schmidt. Durkheim overworks the theory that the life of primitives is largely influenced by custom and collective traditions. His social theory is based on the fallacy that any society is not an association of individual wills but a reality *suu generis*, a new entity. This is a dangerous hypothesis as has been well shown by Allport in his article, "The Group Fallacy in Relation to Social Science."² Many have fallen into the "group fallacy," which "may be defined as the error of substituting the group as a whole as a principle of explanation in place of the individuals in the group."

M Tarde calls the opinion that a "psychic individuality of a new kind" arises by the coming together of individuals, "a fantastic notion," while M Fouillée speaks of it as "purely metaphysical." Moreover, according to some sociologists, conflict and not cooperation is the main urge in social development. The members of this school must reject the theory of the "group origin" of religion, as religion in its deeper and more spiritual manifestations demands group harmony and likemindedness. Advocates of the "group conflict" theory assuredly cannot agree with Durkheim when he says, "I see nothing else in the divinity except society transfigured and represented symbolically." Group conflict will not lead to such a happy "transfiguration of society."

Durkheim naively suggests that we are to believe that the great religious thinkers and moral leaders from Aristotle to Plotinus, and from Augustine to Newman, had worshipped not the Deity, but — Society. He tries to construct an argument from the prevalence of totemism in primitive society, in favor of his thesis. He holds that the totality of beliefs and practices denoted by totemism seems to be closely related with the formation of clans and group life. Out of the group practices of totemism there arose certain principles, attitudes, and values which condition the origin of religion.

But it is by no means certain that totemism is universal in

¹ *Primitive Religion*, 1924, pp 157-159, 160-163

² *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol XXIX, No 6, p 688 ff

primitive society Again, totemistic rites and practices are not necessarily connected with religion Totemism is not everywhere alike but differs among different tribes to an extraordinary degree This fact is alone sufficient to cast a genuine doubt upon the Durkheim theory

Professor Goldenweiser has studied the phenomena of totemism most carefully¹ and has found different features associated with it in different tribes "Passing in review one after another of the alleged criteria of totemism, this author [Goldenweiser] found every one of them wanting in even approximate universality"² Again, "his inquiry had demonstrated that the religious factor was often of a most attenuated kind"³ Goldenweiser asks whence the non-totemic peoples have derived their religion Ethnologists had long been aware that some of the most backward tribes are not acquainted with totemism Among such tribes are the Andamanese of the Bay of Bengal, the Chukchi of Siberia, and the Pygmies of the great Congo region These facts were known before Durkheim wrote, "but the French sociologist prefers to ignore them and to take for his point of departure a demonstrably false theory of primitive society"⁴

9. Fear as the Origin of Religion. — It is not necessary to examine in detail the other false theories on the origin of religion as they have not a false sociologic basis like that of Durkheim A theory that has received many shattering blows is the one that fear, particularly fear of natural phenomena, led to belief in the Supreme Being But fear is a feeling, an emotion, and mere feeling alone cannot account for the idea of a personality which may nor may not be connected with the fear-inspiring object Moreover, gloom is not characteristic of lower religions, for a spirit of joy and hope is often observed in their rites and religious gatherings

A just criticism that may be leveled at practically all evolutionary theories accounting for the beginnings of religion is that they naively take for granted an absurdly low degree of intelligence in primitive man And yet ethnologic facts refute this gratuitous supposition The "animist theory," according to which primitive people view everything as alive, even stocks and stones, sins in

¹ "Totemism an Analytical Study," *Journal of American Folklore*, Vol XXIII, pp 179-293

² Lowie, *Primitive Society*, p 140

³ *Ibid*, p 140

⁴ Lowie, *Primitive Religion*, p 158

this regard. But it has not been proved that uncultured and pre-literate people confused living with nonliving objects. Even the brute knows this distinction. Why should early man make constant blunders in the study of his environment?

10. The "Ghost Theory." — The "ghost theory," whose noted exponent was Herbert Spencer, has lost almost all its former prestige. For some of the lowest races — for instance, the Pygmies of the Congo — practice religion, but have no ancestor worship growing out of desire to placate ghosts of deceased tribal members. We have already shown, in discussing Durkheim's theory, the fallacy of looking upon totemism as the source of religion. We quote, however, the following concise condemnation of the totemistic theory of religious origins: "Nowhere do the great deities bear the names of animals or plants as a mark of totem origin. In the majority of the religions of the world, there is no trace of totemism, vestiges of which ought to be widespread if it had been the source of all other forms of religion. The totem, like the fetish, presupposes the very thing that needs to be accounted for — belief in the existence of unseen personal agents."¹

In the light of these criticisms we reject "collectivism," animism, ancestor worship, and fear of ghosts as plausible accounts of the beginning of religion, whether among primitives or among a cultured people, like the ancient Greeks. The following paragraphs are a congeries of half-truths and groundless assumptions, they are not empirical arguments. "The mystery god arises out of those instincts, emotions, desires which attend and express life, but these emotions, desires, instincts, in so far as they are religious, are at the outset rather of a group than of individual consciousness. . . . It is a necessary and most important corollary to this doctrine that the form taken by the divinity reflects the social structure of the group to which the divinity belongs. Dionysos is the son of his mother because he issues from a matrilinear group. Among primitive peoples, religion reflects *collective* feeling and *collective* thinking."²

Recent studies among Australian tribes flatly contradict such far-reaching conclusions. The supposition underlying the statements of the two preceding paragraphs are shattered by what we

¹ *Catholic Encyclopedia*, article by Charles F. Aiken, Vol. XII, p. 746.

² *Themis, A Study of the Social Origin of Greek Religion*. Cambridge University Press, 1912.

now know from the Australian field W Beck¹ finds no evidence whatever for the favorite thesis of the Durkheim (French) school of sociology — that man is “a socially restrained herd animal” “These discoveries refute an outright collectivistic view of primitive mentality,” he writes “This is all the more striking since these occurrences are found in a community which, by virtue of its peculiar social organization, might tend to support that view The idea of ‘socially bound herd animal’ is seen to be utterly inadequate, inasmuch as the social (community) bond had neither a psychic nor a normative influence in early stages of society”

Criticism of the French sociologic school of Durkheim and of the main work of that school — the latter's *Les Formes Elementaires de la Religion*, 1912 — is not confined to an insignificant minority, but is spreading to wider groups “There is perhaps in all modern literature of this type,” writes P W Schmidt, “no work which has called forth so many individual encomiums, but whose main conclusions have been so universally rejected The question has been asked how it was possible that the religious nature of totemism was not only defended but could have been proposed as the source of all religion, and this, too, at a time when the verdict of other investigators was that totemism had nothing at all to do with religion The question was also asked how Durkheim could confine himself exclusively and one-sidedly to Australian totemism, with only occasional reference to the American field, at a time when the world-wide distribution and the strange variety of the different kinds of totemism were well known”²

Fr Schmidt's censure of Durkheim is based solely on the desire to clarify these perplexing problems As an investigator of Australian languages and mythology, he realized how far Durkheim had departed from scientific methods In the preface of his book on the relationship of Australian languages, he said³ “I may expect as a practical result of this work that books of an *a priori* speculative kind, like Durkheim's *Formes Elementaires de la Vie Religieuse*, will in future be a scientific impossibility”

Lévy-Bruhl follows closely in the footsteps of Durkheim His book *Les Fonctions Mentales dans les Sociétés Inférieures* has also

¹ *Das Individuum bei den Australiern. Ein Beitrag zum Problem der Differenzierung primitiver Gesellschaftsgruppen mit dem psychologischen Problem der Persönlichkeit und ihrer Entwicklung*

² *Anthropos*, Vols XVI, XVII, 1921-1922, p 1007

³ *Die Gliederung der Australischen Sprachen* Vienna, 1912

been hailed by many as a great contribution to the study of religious origins. But his assertions sound like those of an arm-chair philosopher when compared with the statements of Dr Charles Hose, who spent twenty-five years among the Dyaks of Sarawak, Borneo. "We have no hesitation in saying," he writes, "that the more intimately one becomes acquainted with these pagan tribes, the more fully one realizes the close similarity of their mental processes to one's own. Their primary impulses and emotions seem to be in all respects like our own."¹

One of the latest travelers through unexplored regions of South America is Theodore Koch-Gruenberg. His studies on the mentality of the Yekuaná and Guinaú tribes, hitherto scarcely known to civilized man, give the lie to myths that are still circulated concerning the low intelligence of these "savages."²

11. Primitive Man and the Notion of Causality. — We must now present the true account of the origin of the idea of God. This idea arose from the notion of causality. It would be entirely gratuitous to assert that early man was incapable of reasoning from the existence of the wonders of the world to the existence of a Creator. "The Pygmies," says Dr P. W. Schmidt, "teach us that primitive man, who knew the external world from experience, could also reduce it by his intelligence to unity, and so construct a world view which, though incomplete in many details, did not lack a certain grandeur nor fixed unity. This causal thinking and feeling must have led, especially in a period of personification, not only with logical but with psychological necessity to the recognition of a personal agent as cause of this mighty structure (the Cosmos) that is, to a belief in a Supreme Being."³

Few have written with more charm, and at the same time with such lucid precision, on this subject than Andrew Lang. He writes, "We shall show that certain low savages are as monotheistic as some Christians. They have a Supreme Being, and the distinctive attributes of Deity are not by them assigned to other beings."⁴ In Lang's day the evolutionary craze was at its highest, and valiant endeavors were made to construct elaborate schemes of man's gradual "ascent to monotheism" out of the degrading depths of nature

¹ *The Pagan Tribes of Borneo*, Part II, p. 222. London, 1912.

² *Anthropos*, Vol. XX, 1925, p. 710.

³ *Anthropos*, Vol. XIV-XV, 1919-1920, p. 1159.

⁴ *The Making of Religion*, 1898, p. 181.

and of demon worship. The Andaman Islanders were often cited in his day as representatives of a "godless people." But Lang writes of them: "When the Andamanese are scientifically studied *in situ* by an educated Englishman, Mr. Man, who knows their language, has lived with them for eleven years, and presided over our benevolent efforts 'to reclaim them from their savage state,' the Andamanese turn out to be quite embarrassingly rich in the higher elements of faith."¹ Even such "low barbarians" can think according to the law of causality. Schmidt rightly says, "If man, wherever and whenever we meet him, thinks 'causally,' we cannot *a priori* exclude such thinking from primitive man's psychologic account of the existence of a Supreme Being."²

Some of the latest writers on primitive religion now connect the origin of the idea of God with early man's reasoning according to the principle of causality. The idea of the Supreme Being developed from the impression which the world as a whole made upon primitive man.³ The minor deities arose later from feelings and sentiments begotten of the less imposing aspects of nature. Fr. Schmidt explains this more fully by saying that religion, the acknowledgment and worship of a Supreme Being, proceeded from a naive, childlike, and yet deeply felt perception of the unity and grandeur of external nature. Some writers would have us believe that at so early a stage man was not capable of drawing such large inferences and that the human mind, clinging to individual facts, could not rise to this imposing synthesis. But this is precisely the fundamental error in many appraisals of the mentality of primitives. The Pygmies of Africa and of New Guinea show us that even a "primitive" is quite competent to look upon the world which he knows from experience, as a unity. By his intelligence, he is enabled to obtain even a "cosmic outlook," which, though imperfect in many details, does not lack a certain largeness and coherence. Of this fact we have a witness in Dr. Charles Hose, whom we have just quoted.

Light is gradually beginning to dawn upon the obscure field of primitive religion. Scholars are approaching the study of the subject today far differently from the adherents of the old evolutionary

¹ *The Making of Religion*, 1898, p. 211.

² *Anthropos*, Vol. VIII, 1913, p. 574.

³ In *Making of Religion*, 1900, Lang argues that "savage supreme beings" had originated in a primitive attempt to formulate the argument from design.

school Lowie concludes his book on *Primitive Religion* with significant words which ought to be pondered by those who see in man's universal attachment to some form of religion only a remnant of barbaric days "Let those whose Divine lies in the pursuit of demonstrable truth pursue their way unhindered by external obstacles, but let them not foist on others an attitude peculiar to themselves" This is a timely reminder to supercilious critics who look with pity upon persons still "living up to the demands of religion"

It is noteworthy that a group of American students of the history of religions show a much more friendly, though not less critical, attitude toward the supreme value of religion to mankind, than European scholars Among them is Crawford H Toy of Harvard University In his *Introduction to the History of Religions*¹ he nowhere refers, as some have done, to the transitory nature and uselessness (!) of religion, but emphasizes its reality, its necessity, and its permanent value The resolute acceptance of an outspoken ethical theism is the "attitude of those persons who accept the conclusions of science" He has this fine comment on the ethical optimism of the higher religion "This optimism is ethically useful as giving cheerfulness and enthusiasm to moral life, with power of enduring ills through the conviction of the ultimate triumph of the right"

Finally, Washburn E Hopkins, of Yale University, defends in the last chapter of his recent book² the reality of religion as faith in a supreme transcendent power which penetrates and governs the entire universe He quotes Lord Kelvin's words, "If you think strongly enough, you will be forced by science to the belief in God"; and he adds, "It is interesting to see that science is gradually becoming weaned from materialism The real and the ideal are no longer opposed, perhaps the only real is the ideal"

We have taken a long journey through the mazes of primitive religion But everywhere we behold flashes of the divine illuminating the darkness of paganism, all about us we have proof that God hath spoken in diverse manner to the nations None of His children is absolutely devoid of some proof of His fatherly care over them The old evolutionary theory of the gradual and painful ascent of man from the depths of groveling ghost worship through various stages to pure monotheism must be definitely abandoned

¹ Pp 576, 583 Harvard University Press, 1924

² *Origin and Evolution of Religion*, p 356 Yale University Press

The words of St Paul become strikingly true to one who studies the ways in which the religious life of mankind has found expression

"For the invisible things of him, from the creation of the world, are clearly seen, being understood by the things that are made his eternal power also and divinity"¹

Mankind abhors atheism Primitive man realized that without a supreme being life would be a wild nightmare Who would have thought, fifty years ago, that modern science would reach a conclusion concerning the abiding value of religion, which is in harmony with what the oft-berated "mediæval theologians" have written on the absolute need of supernaturalism to answer the riddle of life?

In an article in one of our most progressive sociologic magazines² we read "Professor Conklin voices the thought of modern science when he declares that under the blighting influence of atheism there would be no purpose or value in labor and suffering, life would not be worth living"

TOPICS FOR DISCUSSION

- 1 Look up the article on religion in the *Catholic Encyclopedia*, and report on the definition of religion
- 2 Name some of the pre-Christian religions
- 3 Why has religion such an important place in the life of all nations?
- 4 What is natural religion, and what is revealed religion?
- 5 What is religion objectively considered?
What is religion subjectively considered?
- 6 What is meant by comparative religion?
- 7 Have missionaries contributed to the knowledge of non-Christian religion?
- 8 What is E B Tylor's theory of Animism?
- 9 Why do we reject Herbert Spencer's theory of the origin of religion?
- 10 What is monotheism, and is there any reason for saying that it is universally found among primitives?
- 11 Has any tribe ever been found absolutely devoid of all religion?
- 12 We reject the theory of the "social origin of religion" as a fallacy Why?
- 13 How did the idea of God originate among primitive men who were deprived of the light of revelation?
- 14 Why will religion always remain a vital force among men?

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² *Journal of Social Forces*, November, 1924, p 115

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CHAPTER VI

THE MORAL LAW AMONG PRIMITIVES

1. Systems of Ethics. — The social importance of ethics and of the attitude of individuals and groups to the natural law, and to the laws developed in the course of time for the guidance of different communities, is recognized by most writers on human society. Without some kind of code governing man's relation to God and his fellow men there is apt to be social disorder, and the path of social justice and progress would be ignored by the multitude.

Theories framed long ago by the upholders of false criteria of morality are admitted by many writers on sociology, who do not even try to suggest a reason why they lean to one rather than to another of these systems. Frequently these false views on the essence of morality are accepted on the mere *ipse dixit* of a supposed philosophic luminary.

Utilitarianism or hedonism is the system according to which the essence of morality consists in the value of human actions for attaining the temporal welfare of man. It is especially Spencer's social utilitarianism which has captivated the sociologists. He holds that the test of the morality of human actions is the happiness and welfare of the group. Other defenders of social utilitarianism or altruism are Bentham, Mills, Comte, Fichte, H. Sidgwick, and Paulsen. They differ in some respects, but they agree more or less in the opinion that actions are right and good, or wrong and bad morally, according as they promote or hinder the happiness or well-being of human society.

2. Theory of Spencer. — Herbert Spencer, 1820–1903, presented the theory in a form more palatable to the sociologists. His elaborate argument is nothing more than the materialistic theory of evolution applied to the domain of ethical or moral life. He maintains that in all life there is the "continuous adjustment of internal relations to external relations," that is, the constant effort of an organism to adapt itself to its environment. All conduct tends either to promote or to hinder such adaptation. In so far as it tends to

promote it, it is good, in so far as it tends to hinder it, it is bad. Good conduct produces pleasure, because it brings the organism into harmony with its surroundings. Bad conduct produces pain. The critical student and the careful observer of men in everyday life will scarcely regard this criterion of conduct as conducive to high morality.

Will that observer be more favorably impressed with this system when Spencer tells him that those actions are good which increase or perfect life, or which bring pleasure without any admixture of pain? To the patent objection that such a standard of conduct will promote egoism and the crudest selfishness, Spencer replies that man will not always remain on a low plane of self-seeking and that we are on the way to an ever-enlarging altruism. But the time when altruism or complete regard for the welfare of others will dominate every individual is a dream of the utopian philosopher. According to Spencer, the period of altruism will dawn when all sorrow shall have ceased. The cessation of grief and distress among men will usher in the day when sympathy will be perfect and when men will have no difficulty in doing good to others. But is not the disappearance of all woe and sorrow an idle speculation and the foolish revery of sentimentalists? Thinking men realize the folly and fallacy of the Spencerian hypothesis and admit that his criterion of morality might hold in an ideally perfect society, but not among men whose shortcomings often outnumber their social virtues. Yet the theory of Spencer seemed so plausible to many sociologists that it was accepted, even though it labor under immense difficulties.

3. *Golden Bough and Folkways.*—A vast amount of data, gathered by two of the most industrious compilers of the last century, has been eagerly seized upon by those who with Spencer acknowledge a changing criterion of morality, though they do not subscribe to all his doctrines. These data have been gathered into two volumes which have dominated much of the sociologic writing of our time. They are *The Golden Bough* by Sir James G. Frazer and *Folkways — A Study of the Sociologic Importance of Usages, Manners, Customs, Mores, and Morals*, by W. G. Sumner.

These two books have become storehouses of data for those who wished to bolster up a materialistic theory of moral conduct. Frazer's immense congeries of examples from all ends of the earth is supposed to prove that all spiritual, moral, and religious ideals may eventually be traced back to some superstitious practice or bit

of antiquated folklore. The proof of this theory is attempted by citing "parallelisms" to a religious custom or clan observance from all the regions of the world. In his view the mighty structure of Christian truth and dogma, as well as the laws of Christian morality, are no more than developments of pagan customs and observances that can be found among many pre-Christian nations. That from this point of view there is a constant "evolution" of the moral law goes without saying. Hence Frazer does not hesitate to say "That the ethical, like the legal code of a people, stands in need of constant revision will hardly be disputed by any attentive and dispassionate observer. The old view that the principles of right and wrong are immutable and eternal is no longer tenable. The moral law is as little exempt as the physical world from the law of ceaseless change, of perpetual flux."¹

This statement of Frazer has impressed some writers who are content to confide blindly in the sayings of a master. But more careful observers are not deceived by this assurance of the industrious compiler of "parallelisms." In fact, he has lost a great deal of the power he once exerted over some students of human society. Independent thinkers have arrived at the conclusion of Sir Bertram Windle concerning this much-lauded writer. Discussing Frazer's *Totemism and Exogamy* Dr. Windle is led to comment as follows: "Amazing stream of words! But to what do they all amount?" By means of a vast array of data on the marriage customs of primitive tribes Frazer struggles to bring light into the puzzling question of exogamy, that is, marrying outside one's tribe. But his explanations are futile. Referring to these laborious attempts at explanation, Dr. Windle says "We must be pardoned if we say, as respectfully as possible, that all this whirl of words, full of sound but meaning nothing, might have been condensed into the simple but honest phrase 'I do not know what caused these savages to adopt the system of exogamy.' In which confession of ignorance many, if not all, would feel disposed to join with him."² All who have carefully studied the method of *The Golden Bough* will find that the criticism by Dr. Windle is justified. Frazer had held the field so long that he began to run wild in his mania for constructing theories on huge heaps of unrelated data gathered from the vast literature of travel and exploration of the last two centuries. Andrew

¹ *Golden Bough*, Part II, p. 6, preface

² *A Century of Scientific Thought*, p. 240-241

Lang succeeded in laying wide breaches in the system so elaborately constructed, and now careful students of primitive religion, mythology and folklore are gradually dismantling a building reared high, but lacking solid basis. Frazer is one of those anthropologists whom Professor G. W. Mitchell takes to task.¹ According to this critic, Frazer delights in "finding evolutions and ready explanations at will, and piling hypothesis on hypothesis, as if building high enough on a theory would convert it into fact."

But if Frazer has begun to lose caste as a creditable spokesman for sociologists, W. G. Sumner still claims a following. His constant use of the terms "mores" and "folkways" did not clarify sociologic thinking. Some writers evidently employ the words at random and do not give them a fixed meaning.

4. Sumner's View of Morality.—Sumner's position and that of his followers may be briefly summarized as follows. "The folkways are the widest, most fundamental, and most important operation by which the interests of men in groups are served, and the process by which folkways are made is the chief one to which elementary or group phenomena are due. The life of society consists in making folkways and applying them. The science of society might be construed as the study of them. The mores, on the other hand, are the ways of doing things which are current in a society to satisfy human needs and desires, together with the faiths, notions, codes, and standards of well-living which inhere in those ways, having a generic connection with them. By virtue of the latter element the mores are traits in the specific character (*ethos*) of a society or period. They pervade and control the ways of thinking in all the exigencies of life, returning from the world of abstractions to the world of action, to give guidance and to win revivification. The process by which mores are developed is ritual. Property and marriage are in the mores. Democracy is in our American mores. We learn the mores as unconsciously as we learn to walk and eat and breathe. The mores which once were are a memory. Those which any one thinks ought to be are a dream. The only things with which we can deal are those which are."²

These statements concerning the folkways and mores are taken verbatim from the principal work of Professor Sumner, in which he

¹ *Dial*, February 22, 1919, p. 206.

² *Folkways: A Study of the Sociological Importance of Usages, Manners, Customs, Mores and Morals*, pp. 34, 59. Boston, 1907.

fully develops his "sociologic" view of man's entire cultural and ethical life. This is the view which has been taken over unreservedly and uncritically by some of the more important sociologic writers of our time and by scores in the minor choir. After the opinions quoted above from Sumner's book, we are not surprised at the following statement. "It is most important to notice that, for the people of a time and place, their own mores are always good, or rather that for them there can be no question of the goodness and badness of their mores. The reason is because the standards of good and right are in the mores"¹ This might be perfectly true if Sumner were willing to admit that certain actions are *always and everywhere* (*semper et ubique*) in the mores, and therefore good, that others are *always and everywhere* not in the mores, and therefore bad. But this Sumner, according to his own theory, cannot admit.

5. Primitive Tribes Know the Natural Law.—For instance, later ethnologic research has shown that murder and theft (at least from a person of one's own tribe or clan) are always bad. The tales about some tribes condoning willful murder of their tribesmen or clansmen belong to fairy lore, but have been uncritically repeated by scores of textbook compilers. Again, respect for the aged has also ever been in the mores, and, therefore, always good. We cannot accept Sumner's further conclusion² that "the goodness or badness of mores consists entirely in their adjustment to the life conditions and the interests of time and place." Nor can the followers of Sumner reply that, precisely because murder of one's own group was opposed "to the life conditions and the interests of the time and place," it was not in the mores, or bad. For often good deeds are done and bad deeds refrained from without any regard to the "interests of time and place" but simply because the primitive "felt that it was good or bad to do so."

The elaborate and frequent references to customs among many people are by no means sufficient to prove Sumner's position on the mores and their influence on the entire moral or ethical life of nations. Vast stretches of the life and culture of primitive people have remained a sealed book to the author of *Folkways*. We can well believe that some later scholar, with a wider knowledge of the field, will deal as unmercifully with Sumner's elaborate scheme as

¹ *Folkways: A Study of the Sociological Importance of Usages, Manners, Customs, Mores and Morals*, p. 58. Boston, 1907.

² *Ibid.*, p. 79.

Professor Lowie did with Lewis Morgan's theories in *Ancient Society*

Sumner's opinion of the origin of morality, phrased in the two following sentences, has been repeated by many writers on ethics and sociology. The statements are made with a world of self-assurance and finality, but the proofs are lacking, though he begins with "therefore" "Therefore rights can never be natural, or God-given, or absolute in any sense. The morality of a group at a time is the sum of the taboos and prescriptions in the folkways by which right conduct is defined"¹ The fact is that certain rights are natural, God-given, and absolute. Among them are the rights to live, to work, to worship God, to the enjoyment of liberty to the extent in which this does not infringe upon an equal right in another.

It is true that the limited knowledge of tribal life possessed by some of the earlier writers may account for theories like those of Sumner. But when all pertinent facts were studied scientifically, when easy generalization gave way to careful observance of the moral behavior of primitives, when the hasty impressions of casual visitors were corrected by methodical investigation of men who understood the mentality of the lower races, an entirely different picture of primitive morality gradually emerged.

One of the principal arguments in favor of custom as a basis of morality is drawn from the supposed practice of the Eskimos in killing the old people who cannot endure the hardships of a journey when the tribe migrates. But the latest authority proves that the Eskimos do not kill their aged parents or relatives.

"I have been in contact with the Eskimos for twenty years, and during this time I have spent fourteen years in continuous sojourn with them. Moreover, I was the first missionary to live with this people in western Hudson Bay, in many cases I was the first white man they ever saw. I have seen their pagan, primitive nature as it was, and as it yet is, among the majority of that nation, and I must state that annual migrations have nothing to do with the killing of old people. In the annual foreseen migrations in spring and autumn I have never witnessed or heard of a single case of killing those of the tribe who could not make the journey. In case of unforeseen migration, owing to starvation during winter, people who could not walk were left behind, only when they could not be carried, on account of the dogs having died of starvation. Even in such cases the Eskimos are good to such people and share with them the little bit of meat they have

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 29

and provide them with bedding and clothing. If the abandoned one is able to crawl around, a snow house is built for him, and a hole is dug in the ice for him to go a-fishing. Even if this cannot be done, they at least give the poor fellow a snow-knife and a stone lamp with moss, hoping that he may get something and escape starvation. Later, if the migrating tribe finds game, some one is always sent back to assist those who have been left behind."¹

6. Assault Upon the Evolutionary Theory.—The main assault upon the evolutionary scheme of morality was made by the new historical school of ethnology. It was successful all along the line in demolishing the work of the evolutionary camp, which sought to present morality as gradually developing out of the chaos of "wild and lawless human origins." Representatives of the later historical school have no pet theories to defend, but build upon facts and upon careful, methodical study of primitive culture. Among the representatives of this school is P. W. Schmidt, the author of numerous works in ethnology, Dr. W. H. R. Rivers in England, and John R. Swanton, Lowie, and Wissler in America.

A reviewer of Fr. Schmidt's latest contribution to the science of man² sets forth the bearing of the historical method of investigation on our problem as follows:

"Before the rise of the historical method of Schmidt and his fellow workers, ethnology was under the spell of what he calls the evolutionist or evolutionary-psychological school of thought. Its method was pivoted on the idea of the 'elemental thought' (as Bastian calls it), the view of the essential sameness everywhere and always of the human mind. Mankind and its culture was a whole with homogeneous parts which were handled as materials to be fitted into any design which a writer's fancy might choose for his system, and there was always something ready to hand to fill up gaps, great or small, with the needed interpolations, no test being demanded for the historical reality of the system. This school is fast crumbling before historical methods, and its downfall will be hastened by the present work, though some of the stones of the ruins may, after reshaping, be useful for the new building. Man, the preeminently historical being, cannot be studied otherwise than with historical methods, unless we are to have only classification, and unsatisfactory classification at that. Hitherto we have seen the lower peoples with the eyes of the first discoverers who sailed the

¹ From a letter of Right Rev. Mgr. A. Turquetil, O. M. I., Ottawa University, November 19, 1926.

² Schmidt, W., and Koppers, W., "Gesellschaft und Wirtschaft der Völker," *Völker und Kulturen*, Band I. Habel, Regensburg.

South Seas or landed in America, we have looked on a world that has always lived as we found it, untouched by time. The truth is far different. The older ethnology, with its methods of natural science or physics, has made hard and fast classifications, distorting research into barrenness, drawing a rigid line between the historical and the unhistorical peoples. It has used the latter as its own plastic material. In contrast with this the 'cultural' or 'historical' ethnology holds that the historical method belongs to mankind in all its stages. The historical records are before us not only in stone or in writing but in dress, custom, religion, and so forth, only that here we have not so exact a chronology, but one more like that with which geology must be content. The distinction between the cultured and the uncultured is not to be rigidly drawn, and at the lowest stage we have only relatively 'primitive' peoples. The destruction or superseding of the lower cultures is a process which has been at work ever since human societies have existed. The historical method does not wholly reject 'psychological' explanation, which would indeed be an impossibility, but the foundations for this are broadened and based on historical reality. In the older school such explanation has been based largely on the mentality of the individual and the prevailing fashion in ideas of the time and place."¹

As we have noted above, one of the facts that has helped first to weaken and then to relegate to "the refuse heaps of anthropology" once widely held opinions, as, for instance, that primitive man lived in a state of wild promiscuity, that he knew no family life, that he had no sense of private property, etc., was the more intense study devoted to the actual life of the still remaining members of so-called primitive peoples. Among such tribes are the Bushmen of South Africa, the Australian aborigines, the Negritos of the Philippine Islands, the Veddas of Ceylon, and the Fuegians of South America.

7. Morality and Primitive Races.—When we wish to fortify the position here maintained, that primitive man knew and practiced all the essentials of the moral law, the only difficulty will be to select the appropriate and most significant facts as they are so numerous and so widespread.

The proofs of primitive man's moral nature will show us that our poor world is a better place than C. E. M. Joad thinks it is—a place "where the driving force of morality is to be looked for not in any innate sanction but in the power which the herd possesses of rendering intolerable the lives of those who flout its prejudices."²

8. Sumner's Examples Do Not Prove Changing Morality.—

¹ *London Times Literary Supplement*, September 30, 1926.

² *Thrasymachus or the Future of Morals*, p. 51.

As to standards of morality, the numerous instances which Sumner gives of differences of sex behavior among diverse people (Westermark¹ gives even a larger number) do not imply the absence of a definite norm of morality. For over against his many examples of what may be regarded as license, we find abundant illustrations of the high standard of primitive morality

Bishop Le Roy, a profound student of Bantu life and religion, after a sojourn of more than thirty years among the Bantus, said that the language of these South African tribes, though poor in adjectives, has expressions for what is morally good and bad, true and false, just and unjust. The distinction of good and bad, not only of what is good or bad physically but good or bad morally, is so elementary a concept among them that the most degraded would be surprised to hear the differences between morally good and bad called into question. Besides this, the individual responsibility of every adult man is the basis of reward and punishment. Bishop Le Roy also found in these Negro tribes a quasi innate and instinctive sense of justice combined with a certain tendency to good and repugnance to evil.

What Kant, Condorcet, and Buckle maintain — that the basis of morality is identical and universal everywhere — is borne out by a study of primitive races. Knowledge of the main obligations of the moral law is universal. M. O. Habert,² who has given us one of the most penetrating studies of primitive morality, says that the adherents of the school who hold to the "evolution of morality" ought to mention "any people among which there is complete absence of *all* morality. But they only tell us that such or such a tribe makes little of theft, another disregards modesty, etc., therefore the idea of morality does not exist. But this is the same as saying: Here is a man without a left arm, there is one deprived of his right arm, hence all men are without arms. It would be necessary to find a group of men, or at least one man, without any notion of the moral law. But without going further, it will not be possible to find a single man who has no idea of *courage* and who would not think well of an act of bravery or devotion."

Bishop Le Roy says that in the Catholic missions in the interior of Africa native children are educated, taught the decalogue, and that, all told, these descendants of savages and of cannibals attain

¹ *History of Human Marriage*

² *L'École Sociologique et les Origines de la Morale*

as high a standard of moral behavior as many European collegians. This change was effected in a few months. And what was the price that had to be paid? It was not necessary to transmute these natures radically and to create entirely new consciences for them, but simply to remove some errors, correct certain prejudices, and to engraft Christian ethics upon the common fund of the universal morality, which is found in every "soul of good will."

Bishop Le Roy concludes from his long experience in educating savage youths that it is wrong to say that the moral conscience is developed only by the experience of centuries and by the persistent force of heredity.

9. Morality among the Pygmies. — The Negritos are a diminutive, dark-skinned, Negro-like nation found in the Philippine Islands, in New Guinea, in South Africa, and in a few other regions. They are placed low in the scale of culture but rank high in moral worth. Dr. Walter Hough says that they "are cheerful, intelligent, peaceable, and moral."¹ Bishop Le Roy tells us that it is under the influence of the whites that the ancient civilization of the Pygmies is disintegrating and that the "morality" of the whites with whom they come in contact has debased the children of the forest.

"Family bonds are relaxed, and the blacks become more and more disorganized. Soon all that remains of the ancient tribes that were found there will be some individuals without cohesion, with little that is interesting and little that is commendable about them, who do not reproduce themselves. In Gaboon, for instance, under our very eyes the Mpongwes, the Bengas, the Galoas, the Enengas, the Nkomis, and the Baviu are thus coming to an end. Our 'civilization' has killed them. If the savages of the interior did not continually come to settle on the coasts, the coasts would soon be uninhabited. Everywhere is the same decimation.

"Why?"

"One day I was treating with an old chief of Bata (now in Spanish Guinea) in regard to the establishment of a Catholic mission on his lands.

" 'Yes,' he said to me, 'come, and hasten, for if you delay, you will no longer find us.' The whites have come here. They have brought commerce here. They have settled soldiers here. They have called in strangers. They have brought their boats full of merchandise. All that is well. But my children no longer believe in anything, my daughters are scattered everywhere, the ancients are no longer listened to. The whites have taken our beliefs from us and have given us nothing in their place. That is why we are going to die."

¹ *Annual Report of the Smithsonian Institution for 1920*, p. 650.

"And the old chief added 'Come among us, you, the missionaries. You will not give us back the customs of our fathers, but you will teach us yours. We will hear you, perhaps God wishes to make us still live!'

"And it seemed to me that day that my old black chief reasoned better on a matter of colonial sociology¹ than many of our parliamentarians, and better than some of our governors"²

10. Connection of Primitive Morality and Religion. — Fr Koppers, known for his investigations among the Indians of Tierra del Fuego, connects the high state of primitive morality with an equally high concept of religion. There is no doubt that in the relatively pure standard of primitive (theistic) religion we discover the deeper source from which primitive culture derives its beneficent and salutary features. Evidently a living (theistic) primitive religion is accompanied by the purity and permanence of the marriage bond, regard for the human personality, including respect for woman, great love of parents for their children, and service for the handicapped. There is no murder of children or of parents, an absence of unnatural crime, etc.

In his journey to Tierra del Fuego in 1922, Fr Koppers found that the Yagan Indians had a high regard for monogamy. They also watched carefully over the conduct of their children and did not wish them to become familiar at too early an age with the mystery of life.

11. Moral Test among the Tribes of Lake Tanganyika, Central Africa — If we turn to a non-Pygmean tribe of Africa, we find that among them certain avocations demand moral qualifications. Thus the owner of a blacksmith shop examines those who apply to be his assistants. To one he will say, "Your conscience tells you that you have been guilty of improper conduct, you would spoil our work." To another he may say, "Your wife has behaved badly this year, you cannot come here, you would draw upon us the anger of the 'Maleza' [ancestors who resemble the gods]"³

Livingstone, who was one of the first white travelers to penetrate into African jungles hitherto untrodden by men of other nations, says that their (the Negroes') concept of what is morally bad in no way differs from our own³. As to their sense of justice, we have the testimony of a missionary who spent, according to his own testi-

¹ *Primitive Religion*, pp 171, 172

² *Anthropos*, Vol IX, 1914, p. 371

³ *Missionary Travels in South Africa*.

mony, "fifteen years of hard missionary toil in the region of the Upper Congo" He says that "the public hearings of their courts of justice are held on the large village common, after sundown All the male members of the community are privileged to attend the proceedings, the decisions there given, either assented to or rejected by them, develop their sense of justice Every native is thus accustomed from childhood to consider the ethical basis of the matter under dispute, and to defend it according to the popular concept of law"¹

12. Stories of Sumatra Tribes without Religion Are Fables.— In 1925, a leading authority on the Pygmies and other primitive nations studied the Kubu tribe of Sumatra The tribe had been cited as a people without religion and morality But Rev Fr Schebesta states emphatically that this opinion is a mere "fable"² They believe in punishment of the wicked in a future life They say that "the soul after death must go to another land The way leads over a bridge under which is a boiling kettle The wicked inevitably fall into the boiling water"³

13. Negritos of Northern Luzon.— Another "fable" which hasty travelers are fond of telling about primitives, the Negritos of northern Luzon, has been laid to rest by Morice Vanoverbergh, a Belgian Catholic missionary, who has lived on intimate terms with the people He says, "Before I knew anything definite about our Negritos, I had heard many stories about them, that they killed people with poisoned arrows, that they lived in trees, and that a young man had to shoot an arrow through a joint of bamboo held under the arm of his bride, with the understanding that, if he killed the girl, his own life would be forfeited What truth there is in all these stories I do not know, but certainly nothing of the kind ever happens with our Negritos here, and they themselves laughed a good deal when I told them what had been related to me as positive truths"⁴ As regards sex morality, he found that the Negritos of Luzon "compare very favorably with the members of other tribes, and I am firmly convinced that I am right when I say that the Negrito in general is morally pure"⁵

¹ Fraessle, Joseph, *Negerpsyche im Urwald am Lohah*, p 97

² *Anthropos*, Vol XXI, 1926, p 630

³ *Anthropos*, Vol XX, 1925, p 1129

⁴ *Ibid*, Vol XX, 1925, p 426

⁵ *Ibid*, p 425

14. High Moral Concepts of Primitive Australian Tribes.—

Andrew Lang, who was not only a literary critic of distinction but also an authority in primitive custom and folklore, cites the five moral precepts inculcated upon the members of the Narrinyeri, Boonorong, and other Australian tribes (1) To obey the older people, (2) to share all they have with their friends, (3) to live peaceably with their friends, (4) not to interfere with girls or married women, (5) to obey the food restrictions. Lang adds that "the Australians are the lowest, most primitive savages" ¹

In another place, referring to a God who gave such admirable precepts, Lang says, "I do not pretend to know how the lowest savages evolved the theory of a God who reads the heart and 'makes for righteousness' It is almost as easy for me to believe that they 'were not left without a witness,' as to believe that this God of theirs was evolved out of the maleficent ghost of a dirty, mischievous medicine man" ²

15. Why Emphasize High State of Primitive Morality? — But the question may be asked why in our study we should dwell so insistently on the high status of primitives in matters of moral behavior. The reason is because religion has always been one of the best agencies of social control and because most texts of sociology are shot through with misstatements on the subject. These misstatements are chiefly due to the almost superstitious acceptance of exploded theories of "the evolution of morality." This unscientific and slavish dependence on the dicta of E. B. Tylor, J. G. Frazer, Émile Durkheim, Lévy-Bruhl and W. G. Sumner is especially noticeable among sociologists. But one of these "authorities" has been discredited by leading anthropologists. Reviewing a work by R. Kreglinger, *Études sur l'Origine et le Développement de la Vie Religieuse*, Fr. Schmidt says that this author follows "the crowd theory of the French school of Durkheim with a minimum of critical judgment." But he adds that "scarcely any work of recent ethnology has been so universally repudiated as Durkheim's *Formes Élémentaires de la Vie Religieuse*." ³ It does not redound to the credit of American scholarship that this work has been hailed by some sociologists as one of high merit. In concluding a review of a learned

¹ *The Making of Religion*, 1898, pp. 196, 197

² *Ibid.*, p. 185

³ "Das eine derartig allgemeine Ablehnung erfuhr, wie kaum ein Werk der neueren Ethnologie." *Anthropos*, Vol. XX, 1925, p. 373

German sociological work, *Versuch zu einer Sociologie des Wissens* by Max Scheler, Professor Albion Small says that "at all events this book opens up vistas of social relations compared with which our sociological searchings thus far have been parochial"¹ Our attempts have been "parochial" on account of unscholarly acceptance of exploded theories, like those of Durkheim

Unfortunately there are too many writers of sociologic texts who ignore the severe criticisms passed upon popular fallacies of sociology by men like Boas, Swanton and Lowie, in America, by Rivers in England, and by Graebner, Foy, and Schmidt in Germany On the other hand, the theories of Frazer, Durkheim, W G Sumner, and Lévy-Bruhl are more acceptable to the writers of sociologic texts and are obstinately maintained, despite the new light breaking in from many quarters

16. The True Standard of Morality.—Despite such phrases as "the evolution of morality," "the genesis of ethics," etc., which are found in scores of modern social-science texts, the fact is that man has always acknowledged the moral law Ample proof is found in the foregoing pages If apparent exceptions are cited, as, for instance, that certain tribes put their old people to death, these may be readily explained² The struggle for existence is so sharp in some environments that a person who cannot contribute to the food supply is apt to be regarded as an obstacle to the survival of stronger members of the group In this emergency an old and helpless person may be put to death, but the other tribal members will always try to "justify" the act, showing that they realize the dictates of the moral law forbidding murder

Again, rational human nature has not changed during the course of ages The ancient Egyptians, the singers of the Vedic hymns 2000 B C, and even the cave dwellers in the grottos of southern France had essentially the same human needs and desires and aspirations The moral law must be in harmony with man's human nature and his final destiny, whether we speak of the primitive Veddas of Ceylon or of the highly cultured citizen of New York or Paris Only that concept of morality is worthy of man which never loses sight of the fact that every individual of the human race, even

¹ *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol XXXI, No 2, p 264

² However, until evidence is on hand that murder of this kind is practiced, we should not be ready to admit that "old people are put to death" See paragraph 5 of this chapter

the lowest primitive, is a being made up of body and soul linked in the closest natural union. This soul, unlike the body, is immaterial and spiritual, while the whole man is destined ultimately to continue his life in a world after this.

On the basis of these truths, we say that the true standard or proximate objective criterion of what is morally good or bad is rational human nature as endowed with reason and free will. Even the savage has at least a faint notion of this criterion of moral or proper behavior. The fact that there are countless modes of conduct or "mores" does not change the moral code and standard of right and wrong. These "mores," as will be found on careful analysis, are rather patterns regulating exterior manners and customs, and are the creations of fashion, the fads and fancies which are as multifarious as the whims of man. But morality is not made by the "mores," for it is something higher and is beyond shifting conventions, being based upon the agreement of conduct with reason. In the ultimate analysis, however, this harmony with reason is with the divine, not merely the human reason. "For the light of reason in the human soul points out the way to the true good only in so far as it is derived from the glory of Divine Intelligence"¹. But God, as we saw in the foregoing chapter, has not suffered even the lowest of His children to remain without some faint knowledge of His law.

Every man, civilized as well as savage, *can* disregard the demands of his rational human nature, but he *may* not, that is, he is not morally free to do so. The human will of every human being is essentially subordinate to the Creator's will, and God the Creator has willed all the essential demands of the objective moral order. Man's reason passes judgment upon conduct, approving some actions as harmonizing with the duties and rational nature of man and rejecting others as incompatible with the dignity of human nature and the particular relations in which the individual is and has always been constituted.

The objection will be raised that this argument disregards the "low mentality" of primitives who do not think along these lines. But primitives, as a matter of fact, do think along these lines. For it is one of the well-established results of modern ethnologic research that a high degree of material advance may be accompanied by low moral standards, whereas, on the other hand, the rude sim-

¹ Moore, Thomas Verner, Ph D., *A Historical Introduction to Ethics*, p. 113

plecity of primitive culture may be distinguished for a relatively high stage of moral and ethical attainment

17. Theory of Unilinear Evolution.—It was unfortunate for the progress of ethnologic science that it was dominated for a long time by evolutionary theories. Among those who attempted to apply the concepts of biological evolution to cultural and institutional development were Sir John Lubbock, J. F. McLennan, Herbert Spencer, E. B. Tylor, J. G. Frazer, E. Crowley, L. H. Morgan, and Charles Letourneau. But more careful study of primitive tribes showed that their theories could not be supported.

18. What Study of Primitives Has Revealed.—Among such primitive tribes are the Bushmen of South Africa, the Australian aborigines, the Negritos of the Philippine Islands, the Veddas of Ceylon, and the Fuegians of South America. It is the easy trick of the evolutionary school of culture to represent these peoples as familyless, religionless, propertyless, weaponless, to paint them in the darkest colors, to heap upon them all the degradation imaginable, and so to construct a convenient picture of "early man" which would furnish a good start for an ever-ascending ladder of culture. But this picture now belongs to that class of bogies that are used to frighten disobedient children.

The fact that we have come to a more sober and also more accurate knowledge of primitive man, from two widely divergent points of view, only serves to lend greater prestige to the opinion now gaining ground, that he was not a savage or cannibal nor altogether devoid of culture. The more intense (and unprejudiced) study of primitives of today has led to a rejection of the old evolutionary view. Two very good specimens of such studies are Bishop Le Roy's *The Religion of the Primitives*, discussing the cultural life of the Pygmies and the Bantus of South Africa, and the recently published report of a remarkably successful trip of exploration to the Yagans of Tierra del Fuego by Fr. Koppers. Both works show, by a mass of evidence, the relatively high cultural (and religious) status of two so-called savage peoples dwelling at opposite ends of the earth.

19. Primitive Man not a Savage.—From an entirely different point of view Talcott Williams answers the question, "Was Primitive Man a Modern Savage?" in an article under this title in the *Annual Report of the Smithsonian Institution for 1896*. His answer is decidedly negative. He agrees in all essential points with those who have made a scientific and unprejudiced study of the low-

est races of our time As we shall see, instead of believing in the "upward evolution" of races, Dr Williams presents strong evidence for the degeneration of races, and the Spencerian school does not answer this evidence by laughing it to scorn

Williams makes much of "freedom from pressure" from neighboring tribes far back in prehistoric days, when good land was to be had in abundance, and when, consequently, "around each of these early centers of civilization would stretch an elastic zone on unoccupied and, for many generations, undesired territory" Hence there would be no need of economic rivalry, the source of so many conflicts in civilization, while the arts and barter would be apt to flourish

He writes,¹ "Peace, not war, would be the normal condition of these antecedent communities, in which the flower of savage life was settling into barbarism and slowly fructing into civilization Each, surrounded by an empty space, would develop, untouched for many centuries, and its culture would be fostered by peace and not war Marriage by capture would be rare or unknown The family would early develop Woman would come to occupy a far higher position than in tribes under the pressure of modern savage life, where she is the booty of the strong and the drudge of the successful warrior² In the happy and fortunate but not improbable isolation due to a sparsely settled earth about and a well-settled territory within, the separate ownership of the land would early develop and bring with it the arts, the leisure, and the culture of the landowner The priest in a community so situated would occupy a higher position than the warrior Removed from strife and protected from attack, the early type of religion would develop a beneficent view of the Deity Monism in some monotheistic shape would become the dominant and interpretative, but not the exclusive form of national faith, because a homogeneous concentric national growth would long maintain the supremacy of the central shrine"

This is, of course, an entirely different picture of primitive man from that painted so frequently and in such lurid colors by the evolutionists It was to their "interest" to present early man as a

¹ Moore, Thomas Verner, Ph.D., *A Historical Introduction to Ethics*, p 113

² This is not true, however, of such "primitives" as the Pygmies of Africa, the Veddas of Ceylon, and the Fuegians Among many Indian tribes woman is treated kindly

groveling brute and let him "evolute" out of this debasing condition by slow stages. Then they would have "the facts fit their theory."

But why did primitive people sink from this relatively high stage of culture? How did their cultural decline come about?

Dr. Williams answers as follows: "In due time the elastic zone would be taken up by the increase of population, external and internal. War and conquest would come. The structure of the state would be remodeled. The warrior king would move to the head of the state and exercise the despotic direction of its affairs. Earlier liberties would disappear. Arts and industries would deteriorate. The national religion would divide into polytheistic conceptions. It would gain in ferocity and organization and lose in elevation and ethical character exactly as would the community itself. With conflict and conquest slavery and polygamy would play a larger share in the national life. The dangers and debauch of war would stimulate superstition. The militant would succeed the industrial type of society. In short, there would come the precise deterioration in the national activities, conscience, and consciousness which is perceptible in both Babylonia and Egypt as outer contrast begins. In the present state of our knowledge, in which the dim perspective of centuries too often crowds together in our discussion dates widely disparate, it is not possible definitely to determine the precise time of this change, but that some such downward movement occurs in both countries somewhere between and about three thousand five hundred to two thousand five hundred years before Christ, no one will, I think, be inclined to deny."

This explanation of the downward trend in culture is very plausible and by no means as revolutionary as it seems. "For," continues Williams, "in the end it may be found that even more radical change is necessary in our interpretation of the past, that the only true explanation is, that much in existing savage culture represents retrogression, and was never a part of the upward movement of the race."

We see clearly how guarded we must be in believing statements that have hitherto been widely accepted as to the "evolution of culture," and we realize that the progress of man through the ages presents a curious medley of rapid forward strides with not infrequent lapses to lower levels of civilization.

TOPICS FOR DISCUSSION

- 1 Is social progress possible without obedience to moral law?
- 2 What is the system of utilitarianism in morality?
- 3 Did the new historical school of ethnology accept the theories of the "evolution of morality"?
- 4 Define the science of ethnology
- 5 What is the significance of Fr Schmidt's researches in ethnology?
- 6 Would you admit that all laws of morality are only "mores," that is, customs more or less obligatory?
- 7 Can it be proved that the canons of ethical right or wrong are more than mores or folkways?
8. Granted that the moral law has been misinterpreted among different nations, or that conduct is condoned in one place which in another is condemned, does this mean that morals themselves are "in evolution"?
- 9 Can we not sufficiently explain the growth of new laws by new social and industrial conditions?
- 10 Does your reading of history tell you that all nations had knowledge of the more important precepts of the natural law?
- 11 What is the natural law? (Consult a treatise on Christian ethics)
- 12 Modern ethnologic research has shown the relatively high standard of primitive morality. Does this fact favor the theory of the "evolution of ethics"?
- 13 Has any nation been found which lacks all knowledge of a moral law or of what is ethically right or wrong?
- 14 Is not the fallacy of the theory of the "evolution of morality" shown by the fact that its upholders must admit that what is today an act of high moral virtue may, a century later, be a disgraceful crime?
- 15 What is the testimony of Bishop Le Roy on the moral behavior of the Bantus of Africa?
- 16 Is there evidence of the high state of morality among the Indians of Tierra del Fuego?
- 17 What is the testimony of Livingstone, who was the first white man to meet some of the African tribes, as to their concept of morality?
- 18 The Kubu tribe of Sumatra have been cited as an instance of a people without morality. What is the verdict of a recent explorer?
- 19 Are the aborigines of Australia a people without any moral law?
- 20 What is the testimony of a recent authority concerning the Negritos of Luzon, Philippine Islands?
- 21 What would you now infer from the answers you, no doubt, gave to the foregoing questions?
- 22 What is the true standard of morality?
- 23 Does the theory of "unilinear evolutions" explain man's cultural history?

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PART II
SOCIAL PRINCIPLES

CHAPTER I

SOCIOLOGY AND RELATED SCIENCES

1. Definition. — Sociology is the science which treats of the social relations of human beings and of their entire social life, with the view of promoting social welfare. No one has as yet given a definition of sociology which is entirely acceptable. One reason for this divergence of opinion is that sociology, as a science, is in a formative period. If a recognized science is taken, there is no difficulty in agreeing upon a definition. Medicine, for example, is defined as a practical science which studies the functions of the human body with a view of preventing or curing human ailments. A practical science looks for results and is considered a failure unless these results are attained, but a pure science seeks for the first causes of things without definitely referring to any practical application. Every science must have a subject matter, the subject matter of medicine is functions of the human body. Every science must have an end or purpose, the end or purpose of medicine is the prevention or cure of human ailments. These are the barest statements of the essentials in the definition of medicine, but other things are supposed or included in the definition. For instance, one cannot study the functions of the human body without understanding anatomy and physiology. Moreover, there is a similarity in the functions of the human body and in the bodies of the lower animals, and much may be learned by the study of the functions of animal life. Even the structures and growth of plant life may be useful in explaining human life. The subject matter of a science may, then, be complex when viewed in its relation to other subjects.

2. Subject Matter of Sociology. — In formulating a definition of sociology, writers have not agreed on its being a pure or practical science, nor on its end or purpose, but they have agreed on its subject matter. Sociology is a systematic study of social life. Social life implies social conditions, cooperation, and relationships, it implies growth and process, it may imply decay and retrogression, it is concerned with social phenomena and also with the social or-

ganism, if this latter word be properly explained and if the comparison between the social life and organic life be not overstated. It is a mistake to suppose that sociology restricts itself to the study of crime, or delinquency, or poverty, or sweat shops, or low wages, or other social evils. It must study social evils, as they are a part of social life, but it must also study the higher social relationships resulting from or tending to shape political, economic, or religious life, it cannot neglect the family, the state, or the church, it must search into man's aptitudes, characteristics and virtues, it must recognize man's threefold relationship — to God, to his fellow man, and to himself.

3. The Purpose of Sociology. — The end or purpose of sociology is temporal happiness or welfare. The ultimate and extrinsic end of society is the glory of God, the proximate and proper end is social peace and prosperity, the ultimate and intrinsic end is temporal happiness. Catholic and non-Catholic sociologists agree on the subject matter of sociology, but hold divergent views on the end or purpose of the science. According to many non-Catholic writers, sociology will give us a new moral code and partly supplant revealed religion. Such was the teaching of Comte and Spencer, and among representative modern writers, this was the teaching of Albion Small, who at the close of his *General Sociology* devotes ninety pages to the discussion of the *new moral basis* which sociology is destined to supply. According to these writers the sociological point of view will cure the social evils of the world.

While temporal happiness or welfare is the true purpose of sociology, the higher end of man cannot be neglected. Throughout this book man's threefold relationship will be kept in mind. He has duties toward God, toward himself, and toward his fellow man. Man must be dealt with as a rational being, and while sociology has for its object the temporal happiness of man, it must do nothing that will hamper or interfere with his threefold relationship. Of their very nature there should be no opposition between man's temporal and eternal happiness, on the contrary, one should supplement the other. To corral immigrant children into community centers or invite them to Thanksgiving dinners with the ultimate purpose of depriving them of their religion is a misconception of social obligation and a perversion of a social privilege.

4. Sociology Is a Science. — Since sociology is a systematic study, it avoids superficial surveys and mere palliatives. It is a

real science, a practical science. Its knowledge is gained by observation, statistics, experiment, and reasoning. Sociology does not inquire whether man is social or not, for such knowledge had been acquired by psychology and history. Nor is it the province of sociology to find a new moral basis for society, for this moral basis has already been given by ethics and the truths of revealed religion. Sociology takes these truths as its postulates and uses them to develop its methods for the temporal happiness of society. Sociology does not seek for fundamental principles, but for programs or secondary principles. Great care must be taken in any form of experiment. In physical experimentation many trials and attempts may be made, and if they fail, no one is injured. Man is justified in experimenting with animals, even if some suffering results to them, for animals have no rights and may be used by man for his good. But there must be no experimenting with human beings in such a way as even to endanger their rights.

5. Sociology and Political Science.—The object of the state is to secure peace and tranquillity within the realm. But the state cannot enact laws for every detail of social life, nor would it be wise for the state to attempt to do so. In small and primitive communities the happiness of the people may result from the wise enactments of legislators, but in our complex society, with the state restricting itself to general laws and enactments, there is need of another agency to bring to the community that happiness which the state does not promote. In a simple order of society, with the state securing peace and tranquillity, it may be left with the individuals to do this welfare work as the outcome of private initiative. But in our complicated social life, as in large cities where one does not know his neighbor and where there is such a conflicting multiplicity of interests, there arises the necessity of the science of sociology, which has for its purpose the happiness of the individual and of the community.

6. Sociology and Economics.—It cannot be argued that economics, even if it were to bring about an equal distribution of wealth in the community, leaves nothing further to be done. As a preventive movement, for instance, there would be a need of wholesome recreation for the people. It is altogether beyond the province of economics to provide such recreation. It must be the result of as much thinking as was required for the production of the money needed to finance the project. Only experts can figure out how

this recreation is to find its way into the lives of the people, and here we have an application of sociology. Some one must take care of orphans and delinquents. Here, too, expert service is needed, and it is not found in either a perfect system of economics or political science.

New sciences often have their origin in other sciences of which they were once a part. For a long time geology was included in geography, the two branches of learning were studied as one. As progress was made, it became apparent that the formation of the earth was as important as the mere description of the earth's surface, and this importance was such that there seemed a necessity of establishing a new science — the science of geology. In the same way there was a demand for new programs and social activities which would supplement the laws of the state, something that would get nearer to the individual and bring that temporal happiness which the state could not secure, something that laws could not of their very nature accomplish. This new movement was not, however, to conflict with laws or seek to abrogate them. It was to be an adjunct, a helper, a handmaid. It was to have more heart and to be less stringent, although it was not to acquire a looseness of action which would deprive it of the nature of a science. This new movement, this new science, is called "sociology." It is not a fad. It has a definite purpose, and that purpose is to secure the welfare and happiness of the individual, the family, and the community. It is a practical science, it has close contact with economics and political science. It takes advantage of the peace and tranquility which political science aims to bring about, and of the production and distribution of wealth, which results from economics, and seeks to bring them into the lives of the people and to make the people happy.

7. Principles in Social Action. — Principles are essential and fundamental ideas which do not change with circumstances of time and place. True principles which held during the civilizations of Greece or Rome must hold at present, they will be true and will find their application after the lapse of a thousand years, whatever progress the world may have made during that period. Religion must have its principles. *Æsthetics* must have its principles, science must have its principles. The principles of religion are expressed in such formulas as the Ten Commandments and in such expressions as "Love thy neighbor as thyself," or "Do unto others as you

would have others do unto you " The æsthetic principles explained by Aristotle about the beautiful in literature hold good today. There are certain principles of mathematics, true for the day of Euclid, which find their application in the most abstruse problems of modern science.

It must be the duty of any new science like sociology to study carefully the principles which have already been found and tested by related subjects. Sociology must look to ethics and revealed religion especially for the guiding principles of right and wrong, and it must utilize only those methods and means which have the sanction of ethics and revealed religion. It were foolish on the part of any searcher after truth not to draw on knowledge that has already been acquired, for our progress consists in this that we build upon the inheritance of the past. How little would have been the progress in electricity if every worker in the field had to begin with the crude experiments of Franklin. Herein has been one of the almost pitiful mistakes of some sociologists, for instead of carefully building upon advancements in related subjects, they have failed to profit by the past and have sought to build up an entirely new science. One of their most fatal mistakes herein has been their vain effort for more than fifty years to find a new basis of social life and a substitute for religion and ethics. At most they could take the old virtues and standards and give them new names by approaching them from a sociological point of view. They have sought for an answer to the question of man's social nature. They have asked when and how man became social, whereas a little reflection would have told them that man was always social, social nature is a part of his being. Many things he has acquired, but he was social from the very outset. This social nature may be nourished and perfected, and it may be neglected so as to be less efficient, but it cannot be eradicated.

8. Programs or Secondary Principles. — Although it is not the province of sociology to look for principles, such as have been explained in the above paragraph, yet it is altogether within its province to seek for secondary principles. Secondary principles are not such in the strict sense of the word, they are programs which have proved workable and applicable under certain conditions. It is now a program or secondary principle that juvenile courts are the best means of taking care of young offenders. It can be called a principle, because it can be safely stated in advance that such

a court will work even in a community which has never had the experience of conducting such an institution. How has this conclusion been reached? In the old working programs of bringing offenders to justice, it was evident from long experience that the young were injured morally and socially by being forced into the companionship of older criminals. An effort was made to segregate them while in custody and awaiting trial, later on securing a hearing for them apart from the associations of a regular criminal court. After careful observation the young offenders were gradually brought before special judges, and finally were summoned before a court where only juveniles were brought. It required time to work out a procedure which would have all the essentials of a court and at the same time make due allowance for the young and for those brought to justice for the first time. It required years of experience before the new method could be sufficiently systematized and accepted as a separate court. At the present time it can be said in advance and with the greatest probability, if not with certainty, that such a court will succeed even in a new community where it has never been given a trial. This foregone conclusion can be called a "program" or secondary principle. It is not a primary principle, or a principle in the strict sense of the word, for there may arise conditions where it will have to be abandoned, or where it can be perfected in its method of application.

All sociologists agree that they are not interested in a purely speculative science. Whatever may be the theories which they advance, they look ultimately to some social good and social progress. They are not engaged exclusively in correcting social wrongs and evils, and regard preventive work as far more important than correction. Constructive work is still more to be desired, and is of its nature preventive, or to put it another way, all constructive work is of its very nature the best possible preventive work. But whatever may be the nature of this social endeavor, to succeed, it must have order and method in it, it must have a fixed program. A program is simply a practical application of a principle. It is a principle made to fit into local circumstances. Programs vary with the nature of social work, they grow more efficient with experience, or may be abandoned after unsuccessful trials. It is not wrong to change or abandon a program. The efficient social worker must know when to do so. It is detrimental to social efficiency to change a program which is giving good results or to retain one which does

not show signs of social achievement. Of their very nature programs or secondary principles are mutable and adjustable.

It may be objected that, in attributing to sociology the formulation of secondary principles, we are denying it the claim of being a science in the strict sense of the word. Can it be maintained that economics and politics are subservient to any other sciences and must look to them for guiding principles? Since the above-named sciences of their very nature deal with beings endowed with free will and not with such as follow the blind forces of nature, they must begin where ethics and revealed religion leave off. They are but the application of unchangeable and fundamental principles. Ethics and religion must first point out what is right and permissible, economics, politics, and sociology must then take up such actions as are sanctioned and approved as good and find an application for them in the community.

It is not derogatory to a science that it depends on other and higher sciences. The mathematical achievements of Descartes were of vastly more use to the human race than such an invention as Watt's engine, although the latter is well known and the former scarcely referred to in the annals of human progress. It is not derogatory to physics and astronomy that they must make use of the unchangeable formulas of mathematics. They became sciences by the application of these formulas. Moreover they are inductive sciences, progressing by a series of experiments and hypotheses, rejecting what was found to be wrong, and retaining a modicum of truth until tangible results were in evidence. It does not detract from the glory of the discovery of the planet Neptune that its existence and movement were worked out as a supposition. Modern science glories in its achievements through the inductive method and points out that these achievements could not have been reached by deduction or metaphysics. It does not detract from sociology, then, because it is an inductive science.

9. Ethics. — Ethics is the science of right and wrong in human action as evinced by reason. Greek and Roman, Christian and Jew, Catholic and Protestant should alike agree on the conclusions of ethics. Ethics reaches its conclusions by means of reason. It does not appeal to Scripture or the teaching of any church. It begins with certain postulates which have been proved in other treatises of philosophy, such as the existence of God, the immortality of the soul, and the free will of man. It supposes from major logic that

the mind is capable of reaching truth. Like any other science, ethics is justified in starting out with these postulates. It does not shirk the burden of proofs, but it regards repetition of the proofs as useless, because other sciences or divisions of philosophy have already done the proving. No science would make progress if it had to go back over the whole field of learning and prove every step. The astronomer does not waste his time in proving the number of planets, with their distance and size. He surveys the field which has been won and starts in quest of things as yet undiscovered. Ethics, too, surveys the field of human knowledge and selects those truths which have already been demonstrated, and uses them as a starting point.

10. Revealed Religion. — Religion goes further than ethics. It accepts every conclusion of ethics and adds to them and perfects them. For God has not only enabled man to reach certain truths by means of his unaided intellect but has supplemented this knowledge by communicating other truths which man could never have learned by reason alone. Religion is therefore fuller in its contents than is ethics. They can in no way contradict each other, and if there is an apparent contradiction, it remains to search out the cause of the obscurity.

A necessary part of religion is revelation, revelation sets religion aside from ethics. Revelation as here understood is the manifestation of certain truths to man by God. It can be made directly by God speaking to man, as when He spoke to the first man and woman in the Garden of Eden, or to Abraham at the door of his tent, or to Moses when the latter received the Ten Commandments. By revelation God communicated with His chosen people through the prophets, and finally Christ Himself, true God and true man, gave to mankind through His Church a perfect revelation.

From the founding of Christianity, man's entire relationship with God and with his fellow man was changed. The fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man, a brotherly love and a care of one's neighbor and a relationship of man with man, changed the whole attitude of the family and the state, and placed the individual in a position of responsibility which he had never understood before the message of the Gospel. Sociology must take cognizance of the teachings of Christianity. Any social movement which ignores the teaching of Christ and the message of the Church must tend to the detriment rather than the social good of the community or state. The message of the Gospel has become an integral part of the life

of man. Mankind cannot be separated from it. Christianity cannot be ignored by art, or economics, or politics, or sociology. Christ Himself, in founding Christianity, established certain definite duties for man in the work of the salvation of his soul. God will not be satisfied with any kind of worship or service, neither will He, nor can He, leave to man to serve Him or not to serve Him. Man's freedom to reject God, or to serve Him with any kind of service, is an absurdity and a contradiction. Man must render to God a definite service, such as is taught by the Church of Christ. The sociologist must understand these duties toward God, if he would not injure man in seeking to benefit his social life and add to his temporal happiness.

11. Sociology as a Speculative Science. — Although sociology is a practical science and seeks for programs or secondary principles, it must hark back to certain abstract or speculative subjects. Ethics, for example, treats of the virtues and vices, but the treatment is frequently brief and often consists in little more than a definition, or it restricts the study to the effect of the virtues or vices on the individual. Sociology seeks to find the effect of virtues and vices on the community and society in general. Moreover, sociology as a speculative science deals with such aptitudes and characteristics as imitation, antagonism, competition, exploitation, association, stimulation, adaptation, cooperation, gradation, equalization, deterioration, socialization, etc., all of which are modifying forces in social control and social progress. As a speculative science sociology also treats of the origin and growth of human associations and of heredity and environment. It does not, however, remain purely speculative, but seeks in the end to discover how heredity and environment may contribute to temporal happiness.

If men's minds were not fixed on social questions, and if there were no schools or movements to sift out the practical programs and create in them a widespread interest, the social progress of one generation, or of one section of a country, or of any one country of the world, would perish with those who spent a lifetime in reaching a certain perfection. In the past many results of science have been forgotten because of the want of this general interest and the means of preserving and transmitting what was worth the keeping. For instance, the famous Jesuit, Kircher, knew two centuries ago that disease was transmitted by means of mosquitoes. But it was at a time when medical education was at a low ebb, and his generation

failed to grasp the significance of the discovery. Hence the fundamental knowledge was allowed to die with the discoverer. As social programs are built up by laborious and keen observation, it is little short of a catastrophe that those which have been found useful and workable should be allowed to perish.

Social knowledge is all the more precious because of its difficulty of attainment. This difficulty arises from the fact that social problems deal with that illusive material which we call human nature, and human nature of its very essence is connected with free will and human rights. We may not experiment with either of these God-given qualities in our seeking for social programs. In chemistry the scientist may subject his material to the most destructive treatment, he may crush it into powder for quicker analysis, or he may dissolve it with acids. If it perishes, there are other inexhaustible supplies. The unfeeling elements cannot cry out in protest. As with chemistry so it is with all the exact sciences, and they are exact because they deal with those elements which follow the unchanging laws of nature. Not so with the elements of social life. Man cannot be separated from his spiritual nature, he cannot be separated from his wonderful endowment of free will, nor from his rights and duties. It was the failure to recognize this essential difference of man from all other creatures that vitiated the whole sociological system of Comte. His prediction of making of sociology an exact science, in the same sense as physics, chemistry, and astronomy, has remained and, in the very nature of things, must remain a foolish dream. It is strange that many sociologists have followed his fortuitous chasing of a scientific rainbow.

12. Dangers of False Views.—While preserving useful programs for other generations, sociologists have the responsibility of not transmitting those programs which are false and injurious. Sociology has often failed in this respect and has been a medium of disseminating false social theories, like those of Comte, Saint-Simon, Marx, Spencer, and others whose principles, if accepted and applied to social life, would bring about the destruction of the best in our present civilization. Failing to understand the real purpose of sociology, some modern writers have but rehabilitated the false doctrine of the last century, have sought to find a new basis of social life, and have endeavored to substitute such vague ideas as "the sociological point of view" for the conclusions of ethics and the maxims of the Gospel.

Sociologists have not been satisfied with the results of their work, as is evident from the following statement of Professor Hornell Hart.

"These expectations of sociologists have not yet been fulfilled Ward, in connection with his review of the work of Comte and Spencer, announces the sterility of all sociology which preceded his own In spite of the work of Ward, subsequent writers appear to continue skeptical with regard to the scientific achievements of sociologists preceding themselves Even Giddings, who takes a very sympathetic view of the work of his predecessors, says 'I hope that most of the readers of this volume will be able to see that much sociology is as yet nothing more than careful and suggestive guesswork, that some is deductive, and that a little of it, enough to encourage us to continue our researches, is verified knowledge' Small says that the interpretations of social scientists have been 'pitifully superficial, fragmentary, and incoherent,' and he elsewhere speaks of 'the thinness and inconclusiveness of nearly everything which has hitherto passed as social science' If sociology has succeeded in becoming scientific, it would be expected that some degree of unanimity would have begun to appear in the conclusions of the various writers Unanimity is strikingly absent Ward enumerates eleven fundamentally different conceptions of sociology and then proceeds to adopt a twelfth as his own Lack of unanimity in conclusions has been even more striking The radical difference of opinion between Comte and Ward on the proper status of women, and between Ward and Spencer on the desirability of war and of public education are classical examples"¹

13. Group Morality.—Some time ago we attended a lecture of a prominent professor who has been one of the leaders in sociological thought for more than a quarter of a century His class was doing advanced work and was restricted to those seniors who had already followed certain assigned courses in sociology The question under consideration was the essence of morality and the final norm which was to guide the individual in the practice of morality The class under the guidance of the professor had already rejected a standard of morality which was definite and unchangeable and had concluded that morality was the result of custom By long

¹ "Science and Sociology," *American Journal of Sociology*, November, 1921 See also an article in the same review, January, 1927, by Florian Znaniecki, entitled "The Object Matter of Sociology" He writes "After eighty years of avowed existence sociology has failed to obtain a generally recognized place in the organization of scientific labor in Europe it is hardly yet accepted as a distinct subject of university education."

practice, so the professor had explained, mankind had agreed that murder, lying, stealing, and other vices are wrong and that reverence to parents, justice to others, and love of God are right. However, there was no accepted and unchangeable rule to follow. Any one of the virtues might later become a vice, and any one of the vices might later become a virtue. It was all a matter of custom. These conclusions had been reached during former classes, and now we were to listen to an explanation of this evolution of a vice into a virtue. The example chosen for discussion was that of Luther's permission to the Landgrave of Hesse to take a second wife. Did Luther do wrong? Was there any essential evil in his conduct? According to the professor, Luther's conduct could not be sanctioned. Why? Not because there was anything essentially wrong in bigamy, but because Luther was too hasty in breaking away from group morality. He should have waited for a longer discussion of the subject, he should have allowed academic disputation and some kind of an agreement among ethicists before he took action which broke so fundamentally with the accepted norms of the past. In other words, this professor made group morality or collective behavior the final test of right and wrong. According to him, as soon as a certain number of recognized leaders in the principles of morality agree that a change is desirable, then the individual is justified in adopting such a course of action. The professor warned the members of his class that they were too young and inexperienced to decide upon these all-important matters and that they should accept what had been recognized as the proper guide in moral action.

Morality, then, as explained by the professor, is something that is altogether changeable. It is the outcome of customs and traditions. It may vary with different nationalities and in different times. We hold, on the contrary, that morality is grounded in the very nature of things and that it does not change with times and circumstances and peoples. We have duties toward God which are always binding. Our duty to praise God can in no way be dismissed, and our obligation of never blaspheming God can have no exception. It may be explained that certain positive duties like prayers and love of God do not bind in such a way that we are to perform them every minute of our lives, on the other hand, they can never be dispensed with so that the individual will be altogether excused. Neither can there be such a change that prayer and love of God which are good today will become evil tomorrow. As with our

duties toward God, so is it with our duties toward our neighbor. These duties are founded on immutable principles and in their essence do not change. We have no right over the life of another, and on our own authority we can never presume to take the life of an innocent person. This rule has no exceptions. This does not militate against our right of self-defense when we are attacked either by a private individual or by a multitude, as is the case in war, neither can it be argued from this statement that the civil power is not justified in executing a criminal. We have the duty of loving our neighbor, and we have the duty of assisting those in want, these and numerous other duties may be modified by circumstances, but in their essence they can never be changed. We are touching here upon one of the essential differences between Catholic ethicists and sociologists and those non-Catholic authors who regard morality as something changeable and subject to tradition and evolution.

TOPICS FOR DISCUSSION

- 1 Compare the following definitions of sociology with that of the text.

ELLWOOD Sociology is the science which deals with human association, its origin, development, forms, and function.

DEALEY Sociology is that study which works out scientifically and carefully the laws and principles of human association.

SMALL Sociology is the study of human experience with attention primarily upon forms and processes of groups.

DAVIS Sociology is the science which attempts to describe the origin, growth, structure, and functioning of group life by the operation of geographical, biological, psychological, and cultural forces operating in interpenetration through a process of evolution.

RATZENHOFER Sociology is the science of the reciprocal relationship of human beings, its task being to discover the fundamental tendencies of social evolution and the condition of the general welfare of human beings.

SPENCER Sociology has for its subject matter the growth, development, structure, and functions of the social aggregate.

- 2 Do any of the above definitions give both the end or purpose of sociology and its subject matter?
- 3 Compare the definition of sociology as given in the *Catholic Encyclopedia* and the *Encyclopedia Americana*.
- 4 What was the principal flaw in the system of Comte?
- 5 Can sociology be reduced to an exact science like physics or astronomy?
- 6 Are social problems increasing?
- 7 Can social problems be solved by legislation alone?

- 8 Are our present social problems due to faulty legislation or to a decay of the spirit of religion?
- 9 What do you mean by the sociological point of view?
- 10 Can the sociological point of view supplant the motives of religion?
- 11 Why may not religion be neglected in the study of sociology?
- 12 What is the difference between sociology and social service?
- 13 How does sociology differ from economics?
- 14 Why cannot economics accomplish the purpose of sociology?
- 15 Explain the difference between principles and programs
- 16 Is it more harmful to have a wrong principle than it is to have a wrong program?
- 17 What are secondary principles?
- 18 What is the difference between revealed religion and ethics? How does each pertain to social theory and practice?
- 19 May sociologists neglect ethics?
- 20 What will be the result if sociology neglects revealed religion?
- 21 Has the result of the study of sociology been satisfactory?
- 22 Point out the dangers of the teaching of group morality How does this teaching pertain to society in general as well as to the individual?

CHAPTER II

POSTULATES OF SOCIOLOGY

1. Taking Things for Granted. — Let us suppose that a professor at Annapolis is instructing the future officers of our navy in regard to the defense of our western coast in the event of a war with Japan. Let us further suppose that neither the instructor nor any member of the class has been to the islands in the Pacific Ocean. On the walls of the classroom and on the professor's desk are numerous charts and maps. Not only are the larger ports and islands given, not only are Guam and Yap surveyed, but the most minute islets or spots of the Caroline Group are measured, tabulated, and described. No information which would be of service to our navy operating in those waters is wanting. The lecture is progressing smoothly, when a student interrupts the professor and proposes a difficulty. He does not think that the class is being conducted with scientific methods. Too much is taken for granted. No one, not even the professor, has seen the localities which are being discussed. No one is sure that such places exist. It is unscientific to take things for granted. It is unscientific to discuss the possible defense of places until it has been proved that such places exist. Can the professor prove to the class that all these localities really exist? Furthermore, is the professor justified in taking it for granted that such places do exist?

The professor is not ruffled by the remarks. He has ever favored open discussion and has pressed his class for difficulties. He pushes his charts aside and pauses in his class work to satisfy the difficulties of the student. He points out that the matter resolves itself into two distinct difficulties. (1) Is it permissible to take certain things for granted? (2) Can human testimony give certainty, or in other words, are the members of the class just as certain of the existence of Yap and Guam, which they have not seen, as they are of Annapolis and Baltimore, whose streets they have walked for years?

Let us follow the professor in his answer to the first difficulty namely, Is it permissible to take certain things for granted? The

student who did not wish to take anything for granted was not original in his methods. Years ago the philosopher Descartes proposed the same problem. He would not take anything for granted, not even his own existence, and fell into the ludicrous mistakes of skepticism. It is impossible to prove that we exist. Our existence is self-evident. It does not need a proof. It is self-evident, also, that two and two are four, that a part is smaller than a whole, and that a whole is larger than a part. In algebra we call these self-evident truths, "axioms." It is useless even to try to prove them, and no sensible person would ever doubt them. Therefore we are justified in taking certain things for granted, some are self-evident, and some have already been proved. The professor refers the class to the subject of major logic for a fuller discussion of this matter. It is proved in logic that not only may we take certain facts and certain principles for granted, but that it is necessary to do so to avoid the absurdities of skepticism.

2. Human Testimony and Certainty.—The professor passes on to the second difficulty. Are the members of the class sure of the existence of the islands of Guam and Yap and the Caroline Group? Here the professor points out that human testimony under certain conditions can give certainty, and that this, too, is proved in logic. It is altogether possible to distinguish the evidence, brought by hundreds or thousands of people in regard to a distant country or city, from the tales and yarns spun by irresponsible sailors about monster whales or enchanted islands. We leave Annapolis and start for Paris or Rome, which we have not seen, with the same assurance that we start for Baltimore or New York, in which we have lived. No amount of class sophistry, no pleading of the most learned cartographer, historian, or traveler, no whimsical doubt of any skilled logician can for a moment cast a doubt upon the existence of Paris or Rome. What is said of these two great cities applies to thousands of countries, localities, and communities of people. Not only are we justified in believing in their existence, but a doubt in our minds about such matters would arouse suspicions of our sanity. Our youthful objector sees the futility of his question, and his companions are anxious to have the professor go on with the matter proper to the subject. However, the professor delays and enunciates a general principle, namely, that every science must take certain things for granted and that the thing which is taken for granted is called a "postulate."

3. A Postulate. — A postulate is a premise which a given science assumes as proved. It is a starting point. Not only can it be proved, but it has been proved. To prove it again would be a waste of time and energy, to prove it again would be unscientific, to prove every postulate again would be so to limit and restrict human endeavor that progress in any of the sciences would be impossible. Suppose that the class actually asked to be sent to the islands of Yap and Guam to prove to themselves that the islands really exist. Let us further suppose that Congress was asked for a special appropriation to defray the expenses of the voyage. Do you not imagine that the students after making such a request would be dismissed from Annapolis as mentally deficient? This is only stating in other words that common sense dictates the necessity of postulates. Postulates are required not only in scientific treatises but in the actions of daily routine. We admit the existence of persons and nations, of rivers and mountains.

4. Further Explanation of Postulates. — Let us further prove the necessity of postulates by a reference to the abstract science of mathematics. No one will for a moment question the proofs of numerous propositions in geometry. These propositions once proved become the postulates of the practical sciences — surveying, architecture, and astronomy. In every movement of his instruments and in every calculation of results, the surveyor relies upon his knowledge of mathematical formulas and deductions. Their use becomes a habit, and yet they cannot be neglected. What sorry results would be his, if he set aside the elementary application of the propositions in regard to triangles. Buildings would be unsafe and unsightly structures if the architect had not the abstruse and unchanging laws of mathematics to guide him, and in astronomy, if the simple rules in regard to the measurement of angles were neglected, clocks and watches would be useless, and unchartered ships would sail uncharted seas.

5. Necessity of Postulates. — There must be postulates. Every-day action demands them, no science can be without them. Moreover, it is useless to admit the necessity of postulates and then fail to use them in any given science. And what is said here both in regard to the necessity of postulates and their use in science in general must apply to their acceptance and use in sociology. Sociology looks to the general welfare and happiness of society. Dealing with society and with individuals as members of society, it must take

as its postulates the essential constituents of both. It cannot neglect one of these elements any more than surveying can neglect a proposition in geometry, a proposition which would throw out of joint other propositions and render calculation impossible.

6. The Four Postulates of Sociology. — The four postulates of sociology are (1) the existence of God, (2) the freedom of the human will, (3) the immortality of the soul, (4) the Incarnation of the Son of God, the Second Person of the Blessed Trinity.

(1) *Let us for a moment consider the individual members of society.* Seeking for the origin of the individual, we find that he comes from the creative hand of God. There is a part of philosophy known as theodicy or natural theology, or that knowledge of God which we can attain through human reason. In theodicy it is proved that there is a God or Supreme Being, that this Supreme Being is self-existent, is all-wise, all-good, all-perfect. He is omniscient and omnipresent. He is the source and exemplar of all perfection, all beauty is in some way but a reflection of His perfect beauty, all love is but a reflection of His love. He is the creator of the universe, of the stars above, the earth beneath, and the waters under the earth. He is the creator of man's physical, mental, and moral powers. None of these powers or perfections of man can be neglected. His moral powers imply a relationship to the Creator. To neglect this relationship is to treat of man imperfectly. The first postulate, then, of sociology is the existence of God, the Creator of the universe, and the relationship of man to his Creator. We do not attempt to prove the existence of God in this treatise. It has been proved in that part of philosophy known as "theodicy." It is a postulate. It cannot be overlooked or neglected.

(2) *The second postulate of sociology is the freedom of the human will.* We must look to psychology for a proof that the human will is free. Not one only, but many proofs are given. The proofs need not be repeated. We have simply to remark that it is useless to talk of any social action or of benefiting or improving society unless man is a free and responsible agent. You might object that a fruit tree can be improved by pruning and by environment of sun and soil, and still it is not free. But the tree cannot break away from its surroundings and must submit to any action or care bestowed upon it. With man it is different. He can refuse your proffered help, he can spurn your gifts, he cannot be forced to do the things that make him better and happier. Not even the strong

bars of a penitentiary can bend the will of man. He is a free agent. Any movement to improve the condition of man must take into consideration man's free will. He has something superior to the blind instinct of the animal or the physical and chemical laws of plants and trees.

(3) *The third postulate of sociology is the immortality of the soul of man.* Again we must go to psychology for the proofs of the immortality of the soul. They are proofs from which no thinking man can escape. You may ask why such a question as immortality, why life beyond this life, and why an immortal life beyond this life should enter into the question of social science. We answer that social science deals with the general welfare and happiness not of a part of man but of the whole man. You can no more neglect the essential elements of man than you can neglect essential propositions in geometry. Man's life here cannot be considered apart from his future life. At present we are only calling attention to the essential constituents or essential relationships of man. It is impossible to separate immortality from man. It would do violence to his very nature. It would leave him not a man but a lower animal, for it would take away that rational vital principle which lifts him above other animals and gives him a kingdom all his own.

(4) *The fourth postulate of sociology is the Incarnation of the Second Person of the Blessed Trinity.* We must draw the proofs for the first three postulates from philosophy, we must seek in theology for a proof of the fourth postulate. About two thousand years ago there appeared in the land of Judea a remarkable person who claimed to be a messenger from God, to be the Son of God, to be equal to God, to be with God, to be God. This one we call "Christ." He lived in this world for thirty-three years. He established a society called a "church" and gave to man — and as God He had a right so to do — a code of religious teaching superior to that of any other lawgiver. He did not leave man free to accept His teaching, but laid upon him the injunction to do so. This teaching of Christ and this Church of Christ changed the whole relationship of man with God and with his fellow man and consequently with society. In no scheme of sociology may the fact of the Incarnation and the teachings of Christ be neglected.

7. Other Postulates. — Other postulates could be enumerated, but the four which have been given are sufficient to guide the student of sociology. From the fact that there is a Creator and that there

is a relationship between the Creator and his creatures, and from the fact of the Incarnation and its manifold ramifications, there arise numerous rights and duties not only toward the Creator but of one man toward another. Furthermore, there arise rights and duties of a person toward himself. Man in his entirety has a relationship toward his Creator, toward himself, and toward his fellow man. This threefold element in the make-up of man cannot be ignored in a social scheme intended for his good.

8. Arriving at Postulates. — Those who would deny to sociology the necessity of postulates would also deny it the dignity of a science, they would reduce it to an experimental, a changing and blundering makeshift. Nor can the underlying principles be gathered from experimentation in schools and prisons, in social centers and social surveys. All such methods are helpful, they supply matter for practical programs, but they do not and cannot give underlying principles. We are not depreciating the value of statistics gathered by those in the survey of the field, but we do hold that such data are of less value than the principles which should guide one in their use. Long and detailed reports on social conditions may prove of no value to the worker who has neglected to grasp the truth and need of social postulates. Study, collect, tabulate, investigate, and compare results and keep records, but never for a moment conclude that this experimentation will give you the underlying principles of social work.

9. Application of Postulates. — We do not maintain that postulates such as we have defined should be constantly kept in mind in each social action. A man may start from New York to Chicago in the interest of some business transaction. During the trip he reads papers and magazines, talks to friends, and watches the landscape. He thinks but little of the actual object of his trip, and yet, if at any time he were interrupted and asked where he was going and what was the purpose of his traveling, he would have a ready answer. Again, an architect may work at his plans and apply many a proposition from geometry and scarcely advert to the fact that he is using a mathematical formula. So it will be in the use of postulates in social work. They must be the underlying principles which direct the work. They cannot be neglected, but they need not be referred to in every detail of the work.

We repeat that postulates cannot be neglected in sociology without grave injury to individuals and to society in general. We shall

take two examples. The first will be the public-school system in this country. No one will deny that education is among the most important of social works, it is universal, and above all it is preventive rather than remedial. But public-school education neglects the most important element in the training of a child. It neglects the first postulate laid down in this chapter — the duties of religion and man's relationship to his Creator. This relationship cannot be ignored any more than an architect can ignore the propositions in geometry or a surveyor can dismiss as nonessential the measurement of triangles. Secondly, let us take the example of a family which needs state help. It may be cheaper to take care of the case by breaking up the family and placing the children in a public institution. But the cheapest way for the state must not be considered if it interferes with the God-given rights of the family. In extreme cases it may be the duty of the state to help the family, but this assistance should be given in a way that will not interfere with the prior rights of parents over their children and with all those rights which are essential to family life.

10. Postulate and Hypothesis. — One must distinguish closely between a postulate and a hypothesis. A hypothesis is only a working theory, the proof of which has not been accepted. It was a hypothesis that the sun was fed by meteors which were constantly drawn within its range of attraction. There are various difficulties connected with this explanation — difficulties that it would be impossible to discuss here, but which have caused the hypothesis to be rejected. There was another hypothesis that the heat of the sun came from contraction of its great bulk, owing to gravitation. It was computed that this contraction was only two hundred feet a year, and that it would take ten thousand years to produce a perceptible change. On this hypothesis Kelvin proved that the sun had existed about eighteen million years. Then came the discovery of radium and the further hypothesis that the sun's heat was derived from the breaking up of atoms rather than from ordinary chemical combustion. Every hypothesis in regard to the origin of the sun's heat has been questioned, and any computation in regard to the age of the sun must also for the present be set aside.

In 1876 Morgan¹ undertook to prove that among the most primitive people there was no marriage, that property was common, that laws did not exist, that there was no conception of right and wrong

¹ Morgan, Lewis H., *Ancient Society*

His whole treatise fell in with the evolutionary hypothesis that early man was merely an animal. Theories were spun and deductions reached, all resting on the supposed validity of Morgan's conclusions. But his work was a mere hypothesis which proved to be false, as was shown with admirable clearness and conviction by Robert H. Lowie.¹ A further refutation of Morgan's conclusions is given in the *Jesuit Relations*, where it is shown that the primitive Indian had the concepts of morality, laws, and family rights.² With the refutation of Morgan's hypotheses his whole teaching in regard to the origin of social life and society collapsed. One must be careful, then, to distinguish between a hypothesis and a postulate. A science built upon the former has no more stability than the supposition upon which it rests, one that is built upon the latter stands every test of science and research.

11. Inherent Weakness of Sociology Built on Hypotheses. —

Sociology is one of the recent sciences. When it came to claim its place among the older sciences, like them it was dependent upon certain postulates. It had to take many things for granted. It came at a time when there was a vague confusion in the minds of men between a hypothesis and a postulate. Unfortunately much of the science of sociology was built upon a hypothesis, that hypothesis was and is the evolution from matter to mind. Now man has a mind, a soul, a spiritual nature, and no proof has ever been adduced of the change of matter into mind or the gradual evolution of animal life into rational life. Catholic writers maintain that such an evolution is a mere hypothesis.

12. Proof from Citations. — That most modern social writers take the evolutionary hypothesis for the basis of their science will be plain to any one who has read works on sociology.

Professor Giddings writes: "It is held by evolutionists that from an ape-creature, no longer represented in any surviving species, the human race itself is descended. The sociologist has no immediate concern with the vast mass of biological and paleontological evidence which establishes the Darwinian theory of the descent of man from the lower forms of life. It is, however, a sociological question whether man is descended from an unsocial species, every individual or pair of which lived an isolated life, or from highly social species that had already formed the habit of living in bands for the en-

¹ *Primitive Society*. See also Le Roy, A., *The Religion of the Primitives*.

² Vol. LXXII, index, Part 5, "Social and Economic Life," pp. 331-355.

joyment of social pleasures and for common protection and cooperation. In other words, it is a sociological question whether the human race is descendent from a single pair or from an entire species which lived in communities and as a species slowly developed into human form and intelligence. Did the race become social after becoming human, or did it become human after becoming social? "1

"It is sufficient to remind ourselves," writes John M. Gilette, "that man is the descendant of a long series of ancestral animal forms having their beginning with the unicellular organism. His more immediate ancestor was not the ape or the monkey, but a member of a stock of which these forms were variants. Social instincts and sympathies have intensified, race experience has enlarged until it has taxed the mechanism of transmission, altruism and reason have expanded and changed the course of events. But in a fundamental sense the mighty civilization of today is the offspring and the descendant of the narrow, shrinking animal society of millions of years ago"2

C. A. Ellwood maintains: "Mental evolution is not something apart from organic evolution. If we take a strictly biological point of view, mentality may be regarded as a variation in the life-process. It is the most significant mutation which life has brought forth, for when mind or consciousness appeared in organic evolution, the whole balance of the world of life was changed"3

Professor J. H. Robinson says: "This is one of the most fully substantiated of historical facts—we are all descended from the lower animals"4. And yet he grants that there are no traces of man in his lower state. His whole argument carries less conviction than the hypothesis set forth by Morgan and proved to be false.

We could give other quotations to show the evolutionary hypothesis upon which social science is largely built, but these will suffice. These sociologists assert, or take for granted, that man is of animal descent, and upon this foundation they build their systems of social science. Here we find a striking similarity between the teachings of the professors and the great master of them all, Herbert Spencer, who ingeniously elaborated by physical processes the explanation of man's morals and customs, his religious feelings, tendencies, and aspirations.

1 *Elements of Sociology*, p. 232

2 *Sociology*, p. 14

3 *Psychology of Human Society*, p. 70

4 *The Mind in the Making*, pp. 68, 87

13. Useless Discussion. — Hence these writers devoted chapters and even volumes to discussing how and when man became social. There is the "social compact" theory of Rousseau, the "biological" theory of Spencer, the "achievement" theory of Ward, the "imitation" theory of Tarde, and the "interest" theory of Ratzenhofer. Vain and useless all this, points out the Catholic sociologist. Vain and useless, because you are seeking to discover what has been known for centuries. As vain and as useless as it would be for an explorer to set out on an expedition to discover the Mississippi River or for the historian to prove the existence of Abraham Lincoln. Man did not become social by degrees. He was always social. Social tendencies are part of his very nature. They may be developed and perfected, but they are always with man, they cannot be separated from him.

14. Radical Differences. — Here, then, are radical differences between Catholic sociologists and others outside the Church. We do not for a moment impugn the motives of these writers, but we cannot close our eyes to the fact that there is an honest difference of opinion. They, too, will assert that they build upon a postulate, they will deny that the foundation of their whole sociological teaching rests upon a hypothesis. They maintain that evolution, even including the evolution of man, has been proved, that it is no longer a hypothesis, that the science of social life stands firmly upon this foundation. The authors quoted above believe that the missing links are gradually being collected and that all will soon accept the theory of man's evolution from the lower forms of life. The Catholic sociologist claims that the chasm between mind and matter can never be spanned and that evolution from the material body to the spiritual mind is impossible.¹

15. False Hypothesis of Professor Soares. — Some social writers build upon another hypothesis — one that should come as a shock to all those that call themselves Christians. This hypothesis affirms that Christ was man, and only man, that He was not divine, and was not truly the Son of God. This school is represented by Theodore G. Soares of the University of Chicago.² He writes, "Jesus had a large experience of family life, although he did not found a family of his own. If Joseph died before all the children were grown up, Jesus as the oldest of the sons may have had the

¹ Windle, Bertram C. A., *The Evolutionary Problems as it is To-day*

² *The Social Institutions and Ideals of the Gospel*, p. 305

responsibility of the headship of the home. It would seem that Mary had become accustomed to depend upon him in the emergencies that might arise (John 11, 5). He knew, therefore, what it meant to call men brethren.

"It is very certain that Jesus did not refrain from marriage on ascetic grounds or because of any light esteem of the institution. While distinction may be made for the purpose of analysis between the religious and social experience of Jesus, it must be remembered that the distinction is not fundamental. Evidently the surest element in the experience of Jesus was that sonship toward God, whom he knew and loved and trusted as his Father. This must not be identified with the theological idea of the fatherhood of God. It is possible to hold that doctrine as a doctrine without any very definite realization of its value in life."

According to Professor Soares, Christ was only man, there was nothing of the divine within Him. He partook only in a figurative way of the sonship of God. He was the eldest son of a large family. He came into contact with people, saw their needs, corrected their errors, and thereby became a great social force. From a Catholic point of view the professor's utterances in regard to Christ are blasphemies.

Such are the postulates of sociology as assumed by most of the writers outside the Catholic Church. According to them man is but a highly developed animal. He has been evolved from lower forms of life. His soul or his mind is but a higher form of the soul or mind of inferior animals. He has nothing of the spiritual in his nature. Christ, the greatest of all social workers, was but man. His sonship with God is but in a figurative sense. He can be compared to the other great men of antiquity. What Alexander did in conquest, and Solon in legislation, Christ accomplished in the social order. There are, perhaps, the two most suggestive and dangerous postulates of non-Catholic sociology.

16. Postulates of Catholic and Non-Catholic Sociology.—We have already explained the postulates of social science as assumed by Catholic writers and social workers. These are the principles which have guided the Church during the twenty centuries of her social work. They were sufficient to change the heart of the pagan world and to mold a new civilization—a civilization in which all men were regarded as substantially equal, which liberated the slave, which gave rights to the wife and child, which sent the mis-

sionary to instruct and convert the wandering nations of the north, which filled the world with asylums, hospitals, and schools. Inspired by these motives St. Francis taught his lesson of poverty, St. John of Matha devoted his life to the redemption of captives, St. Elizabeth of Hungary put aside her jewels to work for the poor, St. Catherine of Siena bent down and kissed the suffering leper, seeing in him the child of God, Bishop Von Ketteler mobilized the working men of Germany, and Pope Leo XIII wrote his encyclical on the condition of the laboring classes.

17. The Systems Cannot Be Reconciled.—It is in vain to seek for a reconciliation between the postulates as assumed by those within and many of those without the Catholic Church. We do not assert that there should be an opposition in practical social work, or that we should hold aloof from all others because we disagree with them in fundamental principles. We do not maintain that in practice we are always successful or scientific. We may profit by studying their methods. We grant that with them a certain philanthropy has accomplished much social good. Often philanthropy seeks to educate and safeguard the child simply because, if not properly reared, it may become a menace to society, it seeks to eradicate tuberculosis, because tubercular citizens are an expense to the state, it seeks to crush out the social evil, because it contaminates and spreads disease. With good reason does it count and tabulate and publish its results. But with its misguided principles it is often led astray by the devotees of birth control and stock-farm eugenics, of divorce and euthanasia,¹ and similar social evils.

TOPICS FOR DISCUSSION

- 1 Write your own definition of a postulate
- 2 Do all sciences have postulates?
- 3 Give your own definition of a hypothesis
- 4 Explain the difference between a postulate and a hypothesis. Give two examples
- 5 Could the axiom in mathematics, "A half is smaller than a whole," be called a postulate?
- 6 Could the existence of London or Asia be considered a postulate in geography?
- 7 What is the danger of building a science on a hypothesis?
- 8 Why must any social theory be wrong which denies Christianity?
- 9 Can there be a true social science which denies the divinity of Christ?
- 10 Must religion be considered in every social problem? Explain

¹ Spalding, Henry S., *Talks to Nurses*, Chap. III

- 11 Comte wished to apply necessary laws, like those of physics, to social questions. In what was he wrong?
- 12 Do we need surveys to know the social nature of man?
- 13 Why do we not prove in this book that God exists and that Christ was truly God?
- 14 Can there be any real social question if the freedom of the will is denied?
- 15 Can there be social questions among brute animals?
- 16 Was man always a social being?
- 17 Read the article on "Evolution" in the *Catholic Encyclopedia*.
- 18 In this chapter do we prove the immortality of the soul?
- 19 Do we prove the freedom of the will?
- 20 Read the fourth postulate carefully and make five or more subdivisions

CHAPTER III

MAN'S DIGNITY AND FINAL DESTINY

1. Sociology and Religion. — Religion and morality cannot be separated from sociology. The reason is that in seeking for man's welfare we must regard him as he really is. We must neglect none of his higher powers and faculties, nor can we set aside his relationship to other human beings and to his Creator. Any treatise on sociology, which neglects the essential elements in man's nature, or his relationship to God or his fellow beings, must fall short of the reality and therefore must be inadequate and unjust in its treatment. What is man's final destiny? It is no other but the enjoyment of God in the future life. This enjoyment of God will consist in a state of perfect beatitude, nothing will be wanting for which we may crave. There will be no possibility of losing this happiness, it will continue for all eternity. The truth of these assertions is demonstrated by reason and by the teachings of the Church. We have not time to prove them here; we must regard them as postulates. You may ask the question, "In what way is the future life of man connected with social work and social teaching?" We answer that in dealing with man both his present and future life must be considered, because every act of his present existence will in some way influence his future state. Social workers who deal with individuals with a disregard for their final destiny will inevitably do an injustice to those whom they vainly seek to help.

2. Objections Answered. — You may complain that we are taking you far afield, in fact, that we are deceiving you in regard to this whole matter. You are a social student, and while you do not object to religious matters, you cannot see why religion should be brought into the present subject. Our reply is definite. We cannot agree on the solution of a single important problem unless we likewise agree on the nature of the individual with whom we are dealing. Let us suppose that one of you was on duty at a central depot in a large city to look after the wants of transient

passengers Let us further suppose that an officer brought you a young girl who was found wandering aimlessly in the station You question her about her destination, but not a word can you evoke You cannot learn her destination or whether she has a destination You know nothing of her home, her parentage, her character, or the object of her coming to the city Can you deal intelligently with this girl? You cannot do so until you have obtained the necessary information about her Let us take another example You are in charge of a foundling institution, and at the door one morning you find a baby and a kitten in a tiny basket No information of any kind accompanies the two little visitors Will you give them both the same care, the same attention, and later the same education? Will you send the kitten to school? Will you treat it like a human being? Not unless you are a foolish sentimentalist You would give the little creature some milk or bread, and in a few days it would probably scamper away to take care of itself But for weeks and months and years the little child is helpless What will you do for this child? We agree that it deserves something that you did not give to the kitten Wherein lies the difference? The little child is a human being, the little kitten is an animal At last we have reached a certain differentiation But what remains to be done for the child? To answer this question you must know something about the child You must ask the questions which you asked the girl in the depot Where are you going? We cannot help you to reach your destination unless we know where you are going And this is the question which we must ask in regard to the child Where is it going? What is it doing in this world? What is it here for? Unless you can answer that question, do not touch the child, for you will misdirect, you will be unfair to it Is it as a poor waif destined to work for others? Is child labor to be its lot? Is it to be farmed out and worked for all that it can produce? Is it to be educated and made a good citizen; and if it is to be educated, will any kind of education suffice? Can you act intelligently in regard to this child unless you know its just claims? Can you know its just claims unless you know the purpose of its life?

3. Man's Final Destiny. — Let me give you the answer in regard to that child It has an immortal soul — an immortal soul created by God It is here in this world primarily to know and serve God Any social service which neglects to teach that child a due knowledge of God and its duties to God does the child an injustice — an

injustice so great that nothing can make up for it. The child has a right to the development of its physical and mental powers, it has a right to all that is necessary for it to take its place as a citizen of the country. These claims it has, but no claim whatever can be substituted for its higher claims of knowing God and of reaching its final destiny of beatitude with God.

4. Divergent Views.—Have I answered your question? Do you still insist that social work can ignore the spiritual element in the individual? Do you still insist that I have no right to introduce religious topics? If we cannot agree on this fundamental question, then let us part—part as friends, I hope, but still with views so divergent that cooperation between us is all but impossible. No! I will yield a point. We can still cooperate, we both can be interested in some phase of the education of this little child, we both can see that it has clothing and food, that it acquires the elements of education, that its physical health is preserved, that its mind is trained. We can agree on these and like topics, but on the fundamental training and education of the child we disagree. If you do not train that child for its duties to God and the hereafter, you are doing it the greatest injustice. You cannot separate religion from social service, you cannot do social work in a fair and intelligent way unless you can answer the question in the child's regard: "Whence has it come and whither is it tending?"

5. Adversaries.—You will observe that in treating of man's dignity and final destiny we disagree with the *hedonists* and *epicureans* who would make pleasure the ultimate end of man. We dissent likewise from the *utilitarians* who, although differing in many explanations, still regard useful actions as the end of man and limit that utility to man's life in this world. During the past fifty years this doctrine of *utilitarianism* has been combined with the various theories of evolution. It still limits the final destiny of the human race to this life. Mankind, according to the school of *pragmatism*, is working toward a final goal, a millennium, to be reached in some remote age when the human race will attain a state of perfection. All the struggles and sufferings, all the wars and contentions are but the necessary travails of humanity in its efforts toward this final end.

6. Man's Perfection not in This Life.—We, too, assert that the human race is working out its destiny, but that its final perfection will never be attained in this world. Man is never satisfied with the results of his labors or his acquirements. Let us consider the

question of wealth. The accumulation of riches has never brought perfect happiness to any individual. In fact, if we study the lives of those who have amassed great fortunes, we shall find in them very little to convince us that they were happier than other mortals. The opposite conclusion would rather seem to impress itself upon us. Man needs a certain amount of earthly goods to satisfy his natural needs and inclinations, but when these have been attained, it is very doubtful whether a further accumulation of wealth does not bring more worry and pain than pleasure and happiness. If we turn to the subject of worldly honor and renown, we shall find that they do not bring complete happiness to man. On the contrary, they are very frequently the sources of contention, envy, and disquietude. There is always a fear that these fleeting honors will be taken from us, that other men will press forward and surpass us. Solomon, Alexander, Cæsar, Napoleon, and all the other great heroes who have reached the pinnacle of human greatness found that their positions of honor and power did not bring them the supreme happiness for which they longed. Many have sought their happiness in pleasure and sensuality, but it is the testimony of all, from the Greek epicureans to the sensualist of our time, that real happiness cannot be found in lives of pleasure and sensuality. We have said that we would not here attempt to prove the existence of a future life. Still we may pause for a brief consideration of the subject.

It is the undeniable testimony of mankind that man does yearn for happiness, and this yearning is so universal that it must be rooted in the very nature of man. Being so, it must come from the Creator. Having implanted this yearning in the heart of man, the Creator would be cruel and unjust if He did not give to the human race the possibility of having these yearnings fulfilled. We have seen above that they cannot be fulfilled in this life — that, do what we will or seek what we will, nothing in this life will give complete happiness. Since, then, it is due man, and since it cannot be attained perfectly in this life, there must be some future state where these yearnings for happiness can be satisfied. If, then, in our social activities we seek a state or a Utopia in which there will be no imperfections, no suffering, no strivings for anything higher, we are taking a false view of life and are holding out hopes which can never be fulfilled. Whatever we do for the social betterment of our neighbor, it must be in harmony with his last end.

7. Purpose of Creatures. — Just as man was made for God and

must find his last happiness in God, so, too, everything else was destined in some way to assist man in working out this high and eternal destiny. Here we have a perfect philosophy of life — man coming from the hands of God in order to render extrinsic glory to Him, and every other creature destined to help man to attain this final end. Under this word "creature" we not only include the things that are external to man, such as the stars and the planets, the mountains and rivers, the beasts, fowls, and fishes, flowers, and stones, but we include his physical powers and strength of body, his spiritual faculties — will, memory, and understanding. All of these creatures in their use must be subordinated to the final end of man, which is to render external glory to God. This service of God finds its completion in a future life which must contain perfect happiness, in which every lawful desire of man is satisfied. This state must be eternal, because the supreme happiness which we here describe would be without an essential element if man knew that at some time it would cease to be.

8. Various Relationships to Be Considered. — In all social work these various relationships of man must be considered. Any social activity which would benefit man in a material way, which would give him a better home, more recreation, more genial companionship, or any other social good, and which at the same time was not in harmony with this higher end of man, would be detrimental to him, and hence we conclude that in all social work the entire man, the complete man, the man with all his relationships to God and to his fellow man, must be considered. It would be a decided injustice to an individual to give him bread and to deprive him of that knowledge of God to which he has a right. Hence those associations which work in the poorer sections of our cities and bring material help to suffering humanity do a real injury when they instill into the minds of the people doctrines which are detrimental to the soul. Likewise, social activity is injurious which comes with aid to the individual and at the same time seeks to disrupt the family, and education is anything but perfect which endeavors to train the mind and at the same time neglects the spiritual growth of the pupil or student.

9. The Object of Investigation. — In our complex urban life there is need of investigation and a thorough study of conditions in order to direct social activity, however, the investigator must not imagine that he or she is sent into the field for the sake of de-

termining the nature of the individuals who are to be assisted. The nature of man and his relationship to God and to his fellow beings have long been understood. It were just as foolish to doubt the existence of certain physical facts — the Atlantic Ocean, New York City, or the Rocky Mountains — as it would be to investigate again this nature of man. As there are undeniable facts in the physical order, and as there are undeniable principles of science, so there are undeniable facts in regard to the nature of man. They have already been investigated, and the purpose of man's existence needs no further research in our time or century.

The scouts of an army are most necessary in complicated methods of modern warfare. It would seem impossible to carry on a campaign intelligently, even on the part of the greatest general, if others did not bring him some knowledge in regard to the location and strength of the enemy, but the scouts and spies of an army do not go out to gather up new principles of warfare. They simply report facts, and it must remain for the officers to interpret these facts and apply the principles with which they are familiar. All the data gathered by the scouting division of an army would be useless to an officer who was ignorant of the principles of warfare. So, too, would all the facts of investigators be useless for the social director who had a false idea of human nature.

10. Wrong Idea of Investigation. — We believe that a wrong interpretation of this matter has led to much foolish speculation and harmful social work, because many social directors have imagined that it is their duty through the investigation of those under them to discover something new in regard to human nature. They imagine that they are working in untried fields and are seeking for something that has not yet been discovered, but in reality their whole process is just as meaningless and foolish as would be the action of ignorant tribes of Africa who would come to the United States to find out whether Chicago and Boston, the Great Lakes, and the Mississippi River really exist. Investigators and gatherers of statistics may be of the greatest help in working out programs. Private and government experts may supply us many useful facts which will enable us to elaborate programs suited to the various problems of our time. But these facts will give us little in regard to the principles which should direct us in all social work. We frequently make the mistake of twisting and bending principles in order to make our programs more workable,

instead of making our programs conform in every respect to our principles

11. Mistake of Comte.— While it is certainly true that any competent social worker in our time must be familiar with methods of investigation not only in theory but in practice, it is equally true that the social worker needs principles for the proper application of all the data gathered. It was Comte who vainly sought to apply to social work the unchangeable laws of natural phenomena. He did violence to the nature of man by destroying his relationship to the Creator. Man, as Comte considered him to be, did not exist, and the solution to the social problem which the French philosopher so hopefully predicted has never been discovered, because its basic principle was false. We do not condemn the sociology of Comte in its entirety. We owe him gratitude for calling attention to the necessity of investigation in the social sciences, as well as in the physical sciences. His mistake consisted in this, that he would search for things which were already discovered, that he would try to find a new philosophy in which God was denied and in which there was a social order without reference to man's future life. We agree with Comte that investigation is necessary for accurate and scientific social work, we agree with him that there was too much speculation and not enough investigation in the centuries which preceded him. It must be remembered, though, that the complexity of human life at his time and before his time was not so great as it is at present and that social problems had not grown so difficult. His great mistake consisted not in too much investigation but in investigation of those things which had already been discovered. He was looking for principles when he should have been seeking for programs, and his disciples and followers are vainly seeking for a new philosophy of life and are misled by following the method outlined by the master. We need investigation, we need it more and more every day, but let us not abandon those undying truths which have been known for centuries and which can never be replaced by any facts or hypotheses which present methods of investigation may bring to the social worker.

12. The Social Worker's Point of View.— Investigators, then, like the scouts of an army, should go forth to gather facts and to view social problems in their relationship to man's true nature and final destiny. Let them not make the mistake of Comte and imagine that man can be studied as a mere mechanical machine. Let them understand that the facts which they so laboriously garner can only

be rightly interpreted when the real nature of man is known. The social worker must not forget man's relationship to the Creator, man's higher destiny which will find its complete fulfillment in a future life, and man's duties toward himself and toward his fellow man. The social worker must have a correct idea of human nature, its origin, its varied powers, and its future destiny. If he regards man as a mere machine or looks upon him as some highly organized animal without soul and without a life beyond this world, he can never properly interpret sociological facts and conditions. Dealing with man under this false interpretation of his nature, the social worker will probably not be the means of benefiting society, nor of bringing happiness to the community nor to the individual, but of fostering certain nonessential reforms at the sacrifice of what is best and noblest in humanity.

TOPICS FOR DISCUSSION

- 1 Explain in your own words the final destiny of man.
- 2 What is the meaning of the word "final" in number one?
- 3 Explain the meaning of the word "dignity."
- 4 Have animals and plants a destiny? If so, what is this destiny?
- 5 Can social programs be perfected if one ignores the final destiny of man?
- 6 Is religion concerned only with the final destiny of man?
- 7 Is it correct to say that religion is concerned only indirectly with social work?
- 8 Do you think that religion can lose its real force by overestimating social work?
- 9 Do you think that religion has at times neglected social work?
- 10 Do you think that religion is at present inclined to overestimate social work?
- 11 Is man's true dignity lessened by denying his final destiny?
- 12 What proofs have we that man has a final destiny?
- 13 The saints always looked to man's final destiny. Did this lessen their worth as social workers?
- 14 Have those who denied the future life been real leaders in social work?
- 15 What would be the result if social action regarded man as an animal, a superior animal it is true, but without an immortal soul?
- 16 Do those who have correct principles of social work always follow out the best methods?
- 17 Can you recall any instances where injustice has been done to others because social workers underestimated the rights of those whom they attempted to help?
- 18 Do social workers appear to you to understand the dignity and destiny of every human being?
- 19 Have you met with social workers who have a contempt for the poor?

CHAPTER IV

MAN ESSENTIALLY A SOCIAL BEING

1. A Futile Inquiry. — We are well aware of the fact that some sociologists have gone into the question of the origin of man's social nature. Was man always social? Was he social before he became man or was he man before he became social? Are there any records of the transition of man from the nonsocial to the social state? These and similar questions, in our opinion, are vain and futile. The geologist who starts in search of the Nile River or the Rocky Mountains is not more foolish than is the sociologist who, at this period of the world's history, begins again the inquiry into the social nature of man. Man was always social, he came from the hands of his Creator a social being.

2. Purpose of Man's Endowments. — We call the attention of the student to the postulate in which it was set down that man is the creature of God. The Creator cannot do anything futile or imperfect, and He must have a reason for every act in the physical and moral world. When we study the various faculties of man, we must understand that every one of these gifts must have a purpose, and there are many of them which could not have a purpose if we eliminate the social nature of man. We see in the individual the capacity for affection, devotion, sympathy, interest, and numerous other aptitudes which can only be satisfied by implying man's social nature. There could be no exercise of these various gifts if man had been intended to live his life apart. In the family we behold those mutual virtues of undying love, mutual interest, lifelong fidelity, all of which require an exercise of man's social nature. Again, in a community there is not only a universal interest in things which pertain to the people at large but there is also a ready response to assist in those activities which arise either from accident or war, or from the outgrowth of normal development. Witness the ready response of the people of the United States when the cry came for bread for distant Russia. Up to a few years ago the life of the Russian people was all but unknown on this side of the At-

lantic; and yet, when the call for help came, the heart of humanity was stirred, and ready money was subscribed and volunteers were found. Such endowments of the individual and such capabilities of the family and community are evident proofs of the social nature of the human race. Certain it is that in seeking for such proofs we need not go back to any distant or prehistoric time. The proofs are before our eyes, they need little scientific investigation. To seek afar for demonstrations and to consider the question as something difficult to decide can only be accounted for by the fact that there are certain sociologists who have broken with the past, have denied all relationship between the Creator and the creature, and have failed to understand the high dignity and eternal destiny of the human race.

3. Teaching of Hobbes and Rousseau. — The doctrine that man is not by nature a social being is not peculiar to our times. The English political writer Thomas Hobbes, 1588-1679, was the bold champion of the individualistic man. According to him, man by nature was ever in revolt, ever seeking to destroy, ever at war with his fellow man. Governments and the laws which were part of society were not natural to man, but they were necessary to bind and hold man in his thoughtless quest for freedom and destruction. The French philosopher Jean Jacques Rousseau, 1712-1778, agreed with Hobbes that man was not by nature a social being, but the reason which he assigned was diametrically opposed to that of the Englishman. Rousseau pictured a time when the human race was subject to no laws or customs, when every individual roamed where he willed and did what he wished, when there was no marriage, no family, no law, no community, no state. Man was in fact a brute being. Rousseau bemoaned the fact that man had ever submitted to the conventionalities which by degrees imposed upon him the accepted restrictions of society. We regret that modern sociologists have taken the doctrines of Hobbes and Rousseau seriously. They contend, however, that man is passing through a probationary state and that in some subsequent period of his existence he will not require the laws which society has formulated.

4. Historical Evidence. — It is all-important for us to understand that there is no evidence to sustain the contentions of Hobbes or Rousseau. The question is for the most part a historical one. In the third quarter of the last century such writers as Morgan and Spencer asserted that travelers had discovered certain primitive

tribes in which there was no evidence of social life. These investigators could find no traces of religion, ownership, marriage, law, or family life. The writings of Morgan were long considered as classical works and their conclusions as final. More recent and more exact books such as those of Lowie and Le Roy have, however, overthrown the claims of Morgan and Spencer. Le Roy lived for more than a quarter of a century among the tribes of Africa, especially the Bantu, who had been classified with the most primitive people which civilized man had met. They were so difficult to approach that travelers had altogether misunderstood them. Le Roy discovered that the Bantu possessed a religion, respected marriage ties, and in fact showed evidence of a fairly developed social life. It is no exaggeration to assert that no race of people has been found that has not given proof of a more or less perfect society, although superstition and ignorance have often marred some of their most sacred institutions. We wish to repeat, then, that history and research have presented additional and undeniable arguments for the existence of social life even among the most primitive races.

5. Man's Undeveloped Faculties.—We would not have you regard our words as a further attempt to prove that man has a social nature. No proof is needed, there is no problem to solve. However, it may be well to recall some of the circumstances in which the social element in mankind manifests itself. The study will prove not only of interest but instructive to us in dealing with our fellow beings. Let us recall in the first place the frailty of the infant after birth. What delicate and watchful care is required to preserve the tiny and flickering flame of life! Shall we call it a spark of life? How utterly hopeless and helpless is the babe in the cradle! Days and weeks pass, but little strength comes to the infant, and the mother who has given it life is herself an object of care and solicitude. There are insects which deposit their eggs in sand or soil and never see their young. We knew of a little boy who placed the eggs of a wild duck under a hen and waited for the brood. The brood came out one morning, and the frightened hen and surprised boy got but a glimpse of the almost featherless little creatures jumping into the water of a near-by river. They needed no one to care for them. A little lamb an hour after birth will go scampering over a field followed by its anxious mother. But the little child! For weeks and months and years it demands constant

care Only in society can it be cared for, and only where there is social life can it survive

6. Care of the Young.— If we turn from the period of infancy to that of childhood, we must observe the same constant care on the part of parents for the good of the little member of the family To look after it is a work of love, it is true, or let us not call it work, let us rather call it a sacred privilege of parents and older members of the family All that is beautiful and sacred is gathered around the home Here social nature manifests itself in the highest degree In the presence and light of such a home, how idle and irrelevant it is for sociologists to ask the question Is man a social being? Equally futile would be the questions Is there love in the human heart? Are there devotion and sacrifice in parents? The very questions would make us distrust the mentality of those who have set themselves up as leaders of thought

7. Man's Further Need of Society.— From childhood to adolescence, from adolescence to youth, from youth to maturity, from maturity to old age, in every stage of development and decline, there is the same need and evidence of man's social nature Nowhere may he neglect the varied results of association with his fellow beings His physical gifts and mental aptitudes are perfected by constant interrelation with his fellows Why did God implant love and sympathy and kindness and other virtues in the human heart if they were not meant to be exercised in constant relationship with one's family or fellow man? Again, the greatest achievements of mankind have been brought about by the cooperation which results from society The transatlantic steamers which bring continents into communication, the network of railroads which make travel rapid and pleasant, the massive bridges which span our broadest rivers, the latest inventions of the telephone, the telegraph, and the wireless—all these and numberless other inventions are but the result of the social life of man and would have been impossible had man lived as an isolated being The Creator, then, must have given man that social nature without which all that is best and noblest in him would have remained undeveloped

8. Isolation Detrimental.— Since the very best qualities in man are developed by association, it follows that long periods of isolation must be detrimental to real progress Isolation prevents the further development of many of the finest qualities in man Where there is only one child in a family, it is apt to grow up selfish and

unloving It loses many an opportunity for an interchange of kind deeds, it will be backward and self-conscious when later it comes into contact with others Often those who are rich and exclusive fail in the cultivation of the virtues which depend on social intercourse with others We are acquainted with that narrowness of view which often results from the isolation of country life Even whole nations hemmed in by geographical boundaries or clinging too tenaciously to traditions may be seriously hampered in intellectual or material progress.

The social worker must be aware of that baneful isolation which is so disastrous in the normal growth of the individual It may require tact and patience to break down the walls which one has built around his or her life Shyness, distrust, and morbidity will too often steal into the life of one upon whom is forced an unnatural isolation Temptation finds its easiest victims among those who are idle, and idleness is only a form of isolation The school which brings together the future citizens is but one of many institutions to break down the evils of isolation It was partly to meet this evil of isolation that the playground movement was inaugurated for the thousands of children and even grown people who, owing to circumstances and neighborhoods, were doomed to seek enjoyment in congested streets and homes Isolation, then, must be recognized as an enemy of that healthy growth which should be the result of man's social nature

9. Man and his Creator. — We have already explained in the chapter on the postulates of social science the interrelation of the various branches of learning, we cannot do justice to any subject if we consider it apart from all other subjects The same application must be made in the consideration of the social nature of man To understand man perfectly his social nature cannot be studied without understanding his relation to his Creator and to his fellow man, his spiritual nature and higher destiny cannot be overlooked Moreover, the interdependence of his spiritual faculties and physical powers must ever be borne in mind, to do him justice we should seek for man's full orientation It follows from the above remarks that the social worker must be one who is well educated and must have broad vision To inaugurate a movement or to attempt the correction of evil without due regard to the whole of human nature will inevitably lead to failure Rousseau was a false guide for this very reason, although he is referred to as a leader in social

thought His failure to understand his duties as a father led him to neglect his own children, his attitude toward civic duties made him all but a traitor to his own country, and his utter ignorance of true human nature incapacitated him as a guide for others We should not criticize him too severely for turning in disgust from the conventionalities of the French court and the artificialities of French life, but his failure to understand the true social nature of man took from him all claims to leadership in social action

10. Changing Principles.—Can we repeat the thought too often? Keep in your mind the full significance of the meaning of the social nature of man with all that it connotes We can assure you of one thing—that our definition of social nature will bear the most rigorous criticism and the test of time The system which we are building for you will not crumble away as have other systems It was with profound disappointment that we read the following frank acknowledgment of a leader in social thought ¹ “A few scholars a generation ago became dissatisfied with the way things were going among the different social sciences After fretting fruitlessly for a while, they decided to create a science of their own They advertised that they were going to furnish the world with a science that would correct the errors of the older and futile social sciences They would substitute a social science as it should be, capable of explaining all about society, including principles and rules for guiding society in the future toward a speedy perfection They adopted the name ‘sociology,’ and I am frank to admit that they accepted it as a compliment when, after a few years, European scholars began to refer to ‘sociology’ as ‘the American science’

“In the light of matured experience there is something pathetic about the earlier history of sociology in the United States Its outstanding and ingrowing fault was neglect of what had been already done We did not know that much of anything had been done, and we were not under a sense of responsibility for finding out whether anything had been done We were thus in a pitifully amateurish attitude From the viewpoint of modern science, the first step in science is finding out what has already been done in the particular field Even our elementary schooling is based upon this principle”

11. Unchanging Principles.—In our comment upon this rather long quotation let us begin with the second last sentence, “From

¹ Small, Albion W., in the *American Journal of Sociology*, January, 1923, p 385

the viewpoint of modern science, the first step in science is finding out what has already been done in the particular field " This is a thought which we wish clearly to bring to your minds If you are an evolutionist and believe in the blind forces of nature producing the creature which we call man, if you believe that this creature is only an animal, if you deny his spiritual nature and his final destiny and his relation to his Creator — then be consistent and treat him as you would treat other animals If man's social nature is limited to the impulse which brings the species together, then you will provide entertainments, playgrounds, and public dances without throwing around these amusements any moral safeguards, you will grant a ready divorce when parties are not happily married, you may even accept the teaching of Ellen Key and others of her kind who would take all that is sacred from the marriage bond If man is only an animal, let him mate like the animals of the field But one who understands all that man's social nature implies will throw around the playground and the dance hall the requisite safeguards and will regard divorce as one of the greatest of social evils, because it seeks a remedy at the sacrifice of the higher duties and rights of the contracting parties Yes, we must find out " what has already been done in the particular field " It has been known from the days of Aristotle that man's social nature cannot be considered apart from his spiritual nature and his eternal destiny as a child of God

12. Breaking with the Past. — Moreover, we would call your attention to the aims of those leaders in social thought who " decided to create a science of their own " They ignored the past and the lessons of the past, and in so doing they failed to understand man as he was and is, they failed to understand the true meaning of man's social nature All orientation was missing, only a part of man was studied Any further attempt on the part of sociologists will fail unless they return to the consideration of man as he really is and not as the fanciful man as set up by evolutionists, with no spiritual element, no final destiny in the next life, and no relation to God New sciences may be and are created, but there can be no science unless it recognizes some unchangeable laws The latest inventions of the wireless must apply the known laws of physics Equally there can be no social science without the foundation of unchanging principles Here is where our modern sociologists have failed, utterly failed, they have refused to accept the basic principles of morality They have regarded right and wrong as simple

customs and the outgrowth of long traditions. With them, what is essentially right and just today may be wrong and unjust tomorrow. With them, it depends largely on group morality.

13. Animals Are Gregarious, Not Social. — Much that we have to say about the social nature of man will be further developed when we treat of the family and the State. In conclusion, we wish to answer a question which is often asked: "Are not animals social? Have they not a social nature?" It cannot be argued that our statements are proofs of the social nature of animals. It is true that they assemble in herds and respond to a call from their young, but the young of the animal is far less helpless than is that of the human kind. There are young insects which are able at once to procure food for themselves. In many cases the Creator has provided nourishment in the immediate vicinity and has given sufficient covering for the body. Animals are gregarious, not social. To get at the root of this question we must go to psychology, which proves that animals have instincts, not reason. If any one could prove that animals have intellects and reasoning powers, then we should have no objection to his calling some animals "social" beings. It is a question, therefore, of psychology rather than of sociology.

TOPICS FOR DISCUSSION

- 1 Explain the difference between sociability and the social nature of man.
- 2 We say that some people are not social. Does this prove that man has not a social nature?
- 3 Is man's social nature the effect of laws or customs?
- 4 Was man always of a social nature?
- 5 Animals are gregarious, man is social. Explain.
- 6 Are not ants social and economic in providing for the winter?
- 7 Why should public playgrounds be encouraged? Is careful supervision necessary?
- 8 Can farmers who live far from their neighbors be said to exercise their social nature?
- 9 Could not a man shipwrecked on an island live alone? How would he exercise his social nature?
- 10 Does not our social nature demand recreational facilities beyond the limits of the home?
- 11 Is it the duty of the community to furnish means of recreation?
- 12 Is it difficult to prove that man has a social nature?
- 13 Is the weakness of childhood a proof of the social nature of man?
- 14 Is sympathy a proof of man's social nature?
15. Is man's artistic tendency a proof of his social nature?

- 16 Can social nature be developed or stunted in its growth?
- 17 If a child is raised in an institution, is its social nature developed?
- 18 If parents are divorced is the child's social nature injured?
- 19 Why should a social worker have a sympathetic disposition?
- 20 A social worker should have tact. In what way does this statement apply to the subject?
- 21 Do you know of instances where social workers have achieved much good by understanding human nature?
- 22 Do you know where they have failed and have done injustice to individuals and families? Why?

CHAPTER V

THE BEDROCK FOUNDATION OF SOCIAL LIFE

1. The Bedrock Foundation. — Mixed with deposits of soil on the earth's surface there is many a broken stone, and often cropping out in fields and hills there are layers of rocks. Let us suppose that we wish to erect a house. Do we build the foundation on the loose and yielding soil? Do we trust the sustaining power of every rock simply because it is a rock? Do we not dig into the earth and examine the strata? Finally we reach the firm and sustaining rock — the "bedrock" we call it. We need not go deeper, here is the foundation for our building. But social life is more important to us than any material structure, we must seek for the bedrock upon which to build. Laying a foundation is not regarded as interesting or as artistic work, but you will readily concede that it is all-important. Our present subject may not appeal to you, but you cannot object to it, it is our foundation, we must build upon it. Perhaps we should use the plural — foundations — for we intend to dwell upon two distinct thoughts, although we hope to show that they are closely related. In the first place we intend to explain to you the natural law.

2. Physical Laws. — Mercury, the smallest of the planets, and with its orbit between the earth and the sun, at certain intervals passes across the latter's disk. Astronomers have calculated the exact number of the transits of Mercury for the twentieth century, with the dates and the position on the sun's surface. We know that in 1999, on November 14, one of these transits will take place. With what marvelous accuracy the great clock of the world must move, when the exact position of the smallest planet can be calculated so far in advance. Betelgeuse is the most conspicuous star of the constellation Orion. Recently its diameter was calculated to be 237,000,000 miles. It is more than 21,000,000 times as large as the sun and 180 light years from the earth. The size and distance are bewildering. The feat of measuring the star "is equivalent to measuring the diameter of a three-penny piece at a distance of 44

miles" These marvelous facts could be duplicated many times Such data are often cited and with reason to prove that there must be a law governing the revolution of the planets and stars Moreover, the heavens prove that there must be a Maker who fashioned and directed their wonderful mechanism The same arguments can be deduced from the study of any of the natural sciences There is a Creator of the world and a law regulating the world

3. Moral Laws.—If we turn to the consideration of man, we shall find that, while he is subject to certain physical laws, he is able to perform or refuse to perform many actions He can rest or walk, he can remain at home or go abroad, he can love or hate In other words, man is a free agent He is subject to the law of attraction, as is a stone, to the law of growth, as is a flower or tree, and to the law of sensation, as is an animal These are necessary laws But there must also be a law that is befitting the dignity and spiritual nature of mān Such a law cannot operate by blind or necessary forces, and therefore it must be given in the form of a command It is called the "moral law" and is thus defined "An ordinance promulgated by those in authority for the good of the entire community"

4. The Eternal Law.—When God decreed the creation of the world, of necessity He had a plan or design in regard to its formation and movement To deny this would be attributing an imperfection to God Even in human affairs we have plans and designs in our own minds before we begin a work The architect not only has a general idea of a building, but he goes into the minutest details Every stone and every piece of wood or metal is calculated, the ornamentation as well as the essential parts of a building are all considered If any one contemplated the structure of an edifice without knowing its size, its purpose, or the material which would be used, such a one would be regarded not only as incompetent to erect a building, but as wanting in ordinary intelligence The Creator of the universe necessarily must have known every detail of what He was to create When we behold the marvelous workings of the planets and stars and the exactness with which they rotate through space, or when we behold the growth of the minutest insect or planet, we must recognize at once that their Author not only rules them by a law, but that He had in His mind the law before He created the universe, otherwise there would have been an operation through chance and an imperfection on the part of God This

plan of the Creator in regard to the universe is called the "eternal law." The divine law is unchangeable. Mankind has not only the same Creator, but also the same nature and the same eternal destiny. This last end of man does not change with time or persons or nationalities. Having the same end, men must have the same essential means to reach this end, and therefore there cannot be a change in the eternal law.

5. Reason and the Moral Law. — The eternal law is made known to us through our own nature and by means of reason. By the teachings of Christ and of the Church which He founded the eternal laws given by God to man were and are likewise communicated to us, but apart from the doctrines of Christ, reason itself makes known to us the eternal moral law. Coming to us through nature and reason, it is called the "natural law." No one is exempted from it. Every rational creature knows the general dictates of the natural law — that is, to avoid evil and do good — and also those general rules of the moral law which can be summarized by the teachings of the Ten Commandments. There may be some applications of the moral law where reason does not speak to us with perfect clarity. For instance, in the question of wages, the moral law through reason dictates that the employer should pay the employee a living wage — one that will keep himself and his family in a condition of life befitting his rational human nature, but there may be some doubt as to the exact amount which is necessary to secure this end, and this amount will vary with time, locality, and numerous circumstances.

6. Conscience Interpreting the Moral Law. — When reason points out our duty in regard to the natural law in any specific act which we are about to do or to omit, it is called "conscience." Conscience, then, does not differ from reason. It is reason making known to us the moral law in a practical way, it tells us that we should perform this definite action, or that we should not steal this particular amount of money which is within our reach. The moral law points out to us in general that we should not steal and should not kill, conscience tells us that we should not steal this money or should not kill or injure this particular person.

7. Civil Law and the Natural Law. — All civil laws must be in harmony with the natural law and consequently with the eternal law. Civil legislation is but the further application of the natural law to specific times and circumstances. In complicated social and

from us without doing us any injustice, for instance, the ownership of a certain piece of property may be taken over by the State, and under certain conditions this does no injustice to the individual, provided that just payment is accorded him. Others are inalienable rights, or those which are essential and which cannot be taken from us without doing us a grave injustice. Among these rights must be enumerated, "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." No one may interfere with our use of these rights. Natural rights and duties come from the Creator, they have their origin in the very nature of things. Man is here to work out an eternal destiny. To do this, he must have the exercise of his free will, he is in need of certain bodily wants, such as food, he requires an opportunity to exercise and develop his higher faculties. To hamper man in the use of any of these requirements is to impede his progress along the way which leads him to his final destiny and thereby does him an injustice. No one is justified in depriving man of his natural rights, or in putting obstacles in the way of his life work, or even in taking from him those material aids such as food, raiment, and shelter which are most valuable or necessary adjuncts to him in his life work. To deprive him of opportunities to develop his higher faculties is also an injustice to man, because these faculties are given to him by the Creator, and he has a just right to develop and perfect them.

13. Rights and Duties from the Creator.—We say that all natural rights and duties arise from the nature of things and must be traced directly to the Creator. The difficulties in this matter are only apparent, for instance, the State may regulate the right of suffrage, and hence it may be claimed that the right to vote comes not from God but from the enactment of human laws. But human laws are only means of indicating the higher will of God, not that God interferes with each individual or points out just who may vote and under what condition he may vote, but God is the author of society, and for the proper regulation of society authority and power are necessary. It is left to human wisdom to decide whether this authority should be elective or hereditary. Again, the Creator does not point out to us that we have a right to a certain piece of property. From nature we have a right to live and to those things which are necessary for life and, furthermore, to those things which will enable life to be led in accordance with the dignity of our human nature. Again, it is left to human means, as

in the case of first occupancy or to certain forms of legislation, to confer upon us the right to any particular piece of property

14. Rights and Duties in Conflict. — Sometimes the term "a conflict of rights" is used. In reality there can be no conflict of rights, but there may be a doubt as to where a right belongs. The conflict is only apparent. It may be possible that the question remains in doubt even after long and thorough investigation, still the right must belong either to one party or the other. Nor can there be any real conflict between duties. There may be motives for doing one thing or another. There may even be doubts as to which course is to be pursued, but there can be no contradiction, and if all the circumstances are clearly known, the way of procedure would be plain. Our various courts of justice are held to decide about the application of rights. The testimony in court and the decision of jury or judge are only a method of arriving at the justice of certain claims. Courts are simply human ways of investigating where rights really belong.

15. Recognition of Rights on the Part of the Social Worker. — The social worker must have a clear idea of the origin of natural rights and of the inalienability of certain rights, otherwise the gravest injustice may result from social action which is intended for the good of the community or the individual. This matter may be well exemplified by the evils of divorce. States have unwisely and unjustly assumed to themselves the power of granting divorces, with the result that the divorce evil has become a national social menace. Some are inclined at times to regard the poor as the creatures of the State and as wanting in those essential rights which are recognized in others. They therefore presume to treat the poor as mere chattels, to experiment with them, to disrupt families, and to break the natural ties which should hold members of the family together. Such social action can only result in harm to the family, and finally to the State. In all social action, then, it must be remembered that natural rights and duties come from the Creator and may not be interfered with.

16. Animals Have No Rights. — Animals have no rights, equally they have no duties. Animals, birds, and fishes, trees, flowers, and grain, land, water, and the heavenly bodies — all these were created for the use of man. An animal has no more rights than a tree or a river. We have duties *in regard* to animals, not *toward* them, likewise we have duties in regard to plants and rivers, not for the

sake of the plants or rivers, but for the sake of the human beings who may depend on them or may use them. Just why an animal has no rights is treated in psychology, where it is clearly proved that an animal has no intellectual soul. Not having a soul, the animal has no intellect and free will, and being unendowed with such faculties, it is incapable of having rights and is not responsible for any duties. You may have heard of the red-snapper banks of the Gulf of Mexico. The red snapper is a fish with most palatable flesh, brings a good price in the market, and affords a means of support for numerous fishermen. Let us suppose that a few individuals undertook to dynamite the red-snapper banks of the gulf and by this means killed thousands of the fish, while at the same time they succeeded in catching only a few of those which perished. Moreover, before they made use of dynamite they knew well that they would destroy thousands for each one that they would secure. These men trespassed upon a right — not the right of the fish, but the right of human beings who depended upon the red snappers for food or a livelihood. The sportsmen who killed hundreds of buffaloes on the western plains just for the sport of seeing the animals fall committed an injustice and offended against the rights not of the buffaloes, but of the thousands of settlers who needed the herds for meat and clothing. Again, let us suppose that a company so mined copper as willfully to destroy thousands of dollars' worth of the vein while securing only a few dollars' worth of the metal. The company would offend not against the rights of the copper, but against the rights of thousands of human beings for whose use the copper was intended by a beneficent Creator. Neither the red snapper nor the copper has any right. It is wrong ruthlessly to kill animals or plants and to injure waterways or mines, not that they have rights, but because such things are thus rendered useless for mankind.

17. The Place of Vivisection in Medicine. — If by experimenting upon an animal progress can be made in medicine, it is justifiable to do so, even if the animal is subjected to suffering. While it is wrong to cause useless suffering to the animal, or to torture it without any object in view, still it was made for man, and if its sufferings are necessary to make it useful to man, such sufferings may be inflicted. The lives of thousands of human beings have been saved, and wonderful progress has been made in medicine owing to the experimentation upon animals. There has been a

waste of sympathy on the part of some misguided individuals and some of the members of humane societies in regard to the so-called rights of animals and the suffering of animals. We are not opposed to humane societies or to their endeavor to prevent cruelty to animals. But many well-meaning members of such associations greatly exaggerate the sufferings which animals endure. Physically animals do not suffer as much as human beings, and being incapable of reflecting upon their pains and of enduring mental anguish, their condition of suffering in no way equals that of mankind. Those who treat a puppy as they would treat an infant, or regard it as having equal rights, are sadly wanting in mental equipment.

Medical science has been able to prolong human life and even to save life by infusion of new blood. Let us suppose that a very wealthy patient is brought to a hospital as the result of an accident. One thing and only one thing will save him—namely, the infusion of new blood. In the same hospital there is a poor patient who has but a few hours to live, but his blood is normal. Remember, he cannot possibly recover. By removing this patient's blood and deliberately permitting him to die, and by infusing his blood into the veins of the wealthy patient the latter's life may be saved. May the operation be performed? Never! That poor man has a natural right to life, yes, the duty to preserve it. No physician and no surgeon may presume to take that life to save the life of another, and nay more, to save a thousand lives. But both of them will die. Is it not better to save one and let the other die? No, it is better to do what is right, and it is never right directly to take the life of an innocent human being, even though that creature be poor or on the point of death.

TOPICS FOR DISCUSSION

- 1 Read the article on "Civil Law and Government" in the *Catholic Encyclopedia*, Vol. XVI, p. 895.
- 2 Define the terms "law," "physical law," "moral law," "eternal law," "natural law."
- 3 Does the eternal law include physical laws?
- 4 Can the moral law be at the same time a physical law?
- 5 Is man's social improvement subject entirely to physical laws?
- 6 Is man's social improvement modified by physical laws?
- 7 Can there be a real contradiction between the natural law and civil law?
- 8 If the natural law and conscience direct us, why do we need civil laws?
- 9 Is divorce against the natural law?

- 10 Is theft against the natural law?
- 11 Is the natural law so evident that there can never be a doubt about its application?
- 12 What is the difference between conscience and the natural law?
- 13 Is there any difference between the natural law and the Ten Commandments?
- 14 Can the Commandments contradict the natural law?
- 15 Is it right to say that the civil law is an explanation of the natural law suited to circumstances of time, place, and person?
- 16 Is a civil law unjust if it contradicts the natural law?
- 17 Why must there be a sanction of the natural law and of positive laws?
- 18 What social evils would arise from the rejection of the natural law?
- 19 Is the social worker ever justified in following expediency instead of the natural law?
- 20 What should be the policy of the social worker who finds that certain regulations are against natural law?
- 21 What is a right?
- 22 Have social workers any special rights?
- 23 Name two rights which we may freely dispose of without injury to ourselves
- 24 What is an alienable and an inalienable right?
- 25 Is life an inalienable right?
- 26 May social workers or the State presume to deprive innocent persons of their inalienable rights?
- 27 Define a duty
- 28 Have social workers any special duties toward the community? Name three of these duties
- 29 Can there be any real conflict between right and duty?
- 30 Can there be any real conflict between our duties to God and to the State?
- 31 Why are rights and duties correlative?
- 32 Do all rights ultimately come from God?
- 33 Must all duties be ultimately referred to man's final destiny?
- 34 Do the rights of one member of the community impose duties on other members? Give three examples
- 35 Give two examples of negative and two of positive duties
- 36 Show why our duties to God are more sacred than our duties toward our neighbor
- 37 May there be occasions when we may postpone our duties to God to engage in social work or works of charity? For instance, may one remain away from divine service to wait upon the sick?

PART III
SOCIAL FACTORS
AND SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS

CHAPTER I

ENVIRONMENT

In the days before the western regions of the United States had been settled, and before communication had been established between small communities, the life of the farmers and of homesteaders was exceedingly monotonous. This was especially the case during the long, dreary winter. Morning after morning, the homesteader's wife in Dakota, Colorado, and Nebraska would, on opening the cabin door, see only the long, wide, white expanse of snow, there was no other human being, no friendly face to smile upon or to greet with the familiar "Good morning." We are told that sometimes this depressing solitude weighed so heavily upon the poor woman as to cause her to lose her mind. Here we have an example of the force of environment upon a being who needed something to offset the disheartening effect of vast vistas of snow and of the silent expanse of the white prairie. Her husband did not suffer from the dreary, monotonous life of the farm, because, even when the weather was at its worst, he could "hitch up" and either go to a neighbor many miles away or "to town" and there discuss news with congenial companions at the country store.

1. Importance of Environment in Social Progress.—Environment is one of the most frequently used terms in the study of man and of social progress. The word is a convenient tool in studies in ethnology, anthropology, folklore, and social history. There is even a new field of research now developing, anthropogeography, whose purpose is the study of man as to geographical distribution and environment. It includes industrial and political geography and a study of the variations of the human race, especially as determined by soil, climate, and other natural conditions.

Then, too, there is the familiar contrast of heredity and environment in questions pertaining to an individual's development and social behavior. We speak of "nature versus nurture," the latter being often another term for environment. In sociology

there is frequent reference to "subjective and objective" causes of crime, poverty, unemployment, etc. The former are chiefly found in the individual, the latter in the "environment."

2. Exaggeration of Environment as a "Social Force." — Later on we shall discuss some of the exaggerated opinions that have become current on environment as a determining and molding force in the life, character, and fortunes of individuals and of nations. But we must call attention to them now, "since volumes have been written on environment as a factor in the organic life of the world, and since the advocates of racial and individual qualities insist that the environment is the chief offender"¹

Among those who have done most to popularize the theory of geographic or environmental determinism was Thomas Buckle, who published a famous work in 1857² which sought to establish the theory that climate, soil, food, and the aspects of nature are the determining forces in spiritual and social progress. This book called forth much discussion in Europe and America. In 1867 Karl Marx published his chief work *Das Kapital*, in which he maintained that the method of production of the material life determines the social, political, and spiritual life-process in general. But all human activities are by no means merely reflexes of the prevailing economic conditions. The psychosocial milieu, that is, the accumulation of knowledge, ideas, beliefs, standards, and values, is as active a force in shaping policies and determining conduct as is the economic environment.

3. Influence of the Darwinian Theory. — The theory of economic and environmental determinism has been influenced by the Darwinian hypothesis. This theory holds that all life and progress consist in adjustment of human beings to environment. This environment is as much economic as geographic, and therefore the system of industry and technology at any given time is said to be the basis upon which the social and cultural life is dependent. There is a measure of truth in this statement, and later on we shall try to determine what part falls to environment — geographic and economic — in the development of culture.

4. Human and Physical Environment. — In the preceding paragraphs there was question especially of physical environment. This has been defined as the sum of the agencies and influences

¹ Wissler, Clark, *Man and Culture*, p. 314

² *History of Civilization in England*

which affect an organism from without, or the totality of the extrinsic conditions to which it is subject

Then there is the geographic environment — soil, climate, topography, and other aspects of nature. Many books on sociology have chapters on groups and geographic factors, for the latter are of importance in their effect on human character and manner of life.

But the human environment — the men, women, and children whom we have known from early childhood — have played a far more important part in our mental, spiritual and social life, and character. For whether we will or not, these human beings surround us and, as a matter of fact, have already influenced each one of us for weal or woe in numerous contacts and relations over a stretch of years.

Sometimes this human environment is more properly spoken of as the psychosocial environment. In this sense it includes communication, suggestion, imitation, the complex activities resulting from what has been rightly or wrongly called the "social mind," influences of fashion and of public opinion, tradition, custom, home training, etc.

It cannot be denied that even individuals who pride themselves on their "independent" spirit are subject in many ways to the subtle influence of this psychosocial (human) environment.

5. Geographic Environment. — Let us begin our study of this type of environment by referring to some facts well known to the student of the life and culture of our American aborigines. The American Indian "adapted himself" to the natural environment. But to quote the words of Dr. Otis T. Mason,¹ "The natural phenomena that surrounded the aborigines of North America, stimulating and conditioning their life and activities, contrasted greatly with those of the European-Asiatic continent. The environmental factors that determine cultural development of various kinds and degrees are (1) physical geography, (2) climate, to which primitive peoples are especially amenable; (3) predominant plants, animals, and minerals."

On the basis of these factors Mason distinguishes "twelve ethnic environments," each containing "an ensemble of qualities that impressed themselves on their inhabitants and differentiated

¹ *Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico*, Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 30, Part I, p. 427.

them " A brief reference to a few of these ethnic regions will explain the meaning of "environmental influence " on life

The Arctic region, the habitat of the Eskimo, is intensely cold, and the struggle for existence is severe The people have, however, successfully adapted themselves to their surroundings and make good use of the seal, polar bear, migratory birds, etc , in supplying themselves with food, clothing, fire, light, and other wants in this exacting climate

The Plains region lies between the Rocky Mountains and the fertile lands west of the Mississippi The tribes that once inhabited this vast region were the Siouan, Algonquin, Kiowan, Caddoan, and Shoshonean Their culture was, of course, entirely different from that of the Arctic Eskimo To a large extent they depended on the buffalo It gave them food and clothing, and they used its skin in making their tents (*tipis*) Moreover, "artistic and symbolic designs were painted on the rawhide, and the myths and tales related largely to the buffalo " ¹

Finally, we have the well-known "pueblo country " of the Southwest Its area includes southern Utah, southwest Colorado, all of New Mexico and Arizona together with the Mohave desert, and extends southwest into Mexico This "Indian area " is familiar to many Americans, as the natives are famous for their pottery and blankets and for the performance of the snake dance The climate demands little clothing in the lowlands The natives had learned from an early period to cultivate maize, beans, and cotton On account of the inroads of hostile tribes—the Apaches and Comanches—the people constructed the famous cliff dwellings for protection against their warlike neighbors Some of the main cultural traits of this interesting southwestern area are the main dependence upon maize and other cultivated foods, the art of masonry, use of cotton as textile material, pottery decorated in color, a unique type of building ² It is evident that these traits are due largely to environment and serve to differentiate the culture of the area sharply from the Arctic region, on the one hand, and the Plains region, on the other In fact, it is possible to traverse the entire American continent and to classify the original tribes by the cultural activities determined by environment

These examples of the adaptation of man to his environment

¹ *Ibid*, p 428

² Wissler, Clark, *The American Indian*, p 224

have been used by ethnologists in establishing lines of cultural development. But the danger lies in giving too much weight to "environment" as a determining fact in social life. Both ethnologists and sociologists have fallen into error in this matter.

6. Environment Determines Social Characteristics Only to Some Extent.—Though we cannot admit the fallacies of those who make environment a tyrannic force, it is correct to say that it determines culture and social history to some extent. It is proper to study "physical nature and its modifications" by questions like those proposed in recent texts of sociology: "Show how climate affects (a) the human body, (b) the human mind, (c) occupations in the case of this state. Give two illustrations showing by contrast how the organization of society is affected by (a) the character of the soil, (b) natural resources"¹ Bogardus has a chapter on group and geographic factors in his *Introduction to Sociology* in which he refers to the "conservatism of mountaineers," and the "superstitiousness of sailors" as being due to environment. Such influence is easily accounted for.

But though it be true that the social life and culture of nations have been affected by geographic conditions, they are not entirely dependent on these conditions. "We must not go to the extreme of saying that geography (environment) is everything, it is only one of the factors to be considered in studying the life of man. It may be very important, but it is not all by any means, other contributing forces must be considered, such as heredity and human instincts. In fact, the economic, biological, and psychological factors are fully as important as the geographic."²

Ethnologists have also warned against explaining all culture by environment. Discussing physical environment and culture, Professor Wilson D. Wallis says: "Where geographical conditions are the same or similar, we do not always find a same or even similar reaction to them. Indeed, the character of the reaction to the geographical environment depends not so much upon the nature of the environment as upon the nature of the culture transplanted to the environment."³

¹ Clarke, Edwin Leavitt, *Questions on Beach's Introduction to Sociology and Social Problems*, Pamphlet, p. 2

² Dow, Grove Samuel, and Wesley, Edgar B., *Social Problems of Today*, p. 31

³ *An Introduction to Anthropology*, p. 103

Professor Lowie pointed out how the "geographic theory of culture" has led to false inferences on the part of careless students of society. "What seems more natural," he asks, "than that culture in its highest forms should develop only in temperate regions, that the gloomy forests of the North be reflected in a mythology of ogres and trolls, that liberty should flourish amidst snowy mountain tops and languish in the tepid plain, or that islanders should be expert mariners?"¹

Yes, all this sounds plausible, and many have been led astray by specious analogies of a type of culture with a particular kind of geographic environment. Lowie cites Professor Kirchhoff, who, "by no means an extreme adherent of the geographical school, since he does not reduce man to a mere automaton in the face of his surroundings, nevertheless believes in a far-reaching influence of the environment and cites in particular the resemblances between inhabitants of arid territories. Unfortunately for his argument we have glaring instances in which desertlike conditions coexist with disparate modes of culture, not only in similar but in identical regions of the globe."²

Lowie then refers to the Hopi and Navajo, two neighboring tribes of southwestern United States, dwelling in practically the same environment and yet widely different in many cultural traits. He says that "quite apart from such cases, the basic differences in Hopi and Navajo civilization show that the environment alone cannot account for cultural phenomena."

7. Fallacies of Montesquieu, Buckle, and Other Geographic Determinists.—There is a school of students of culture—they may be called "geographic (environmental) determinists"—who hold that all history and all human conduct are determined solely by environmental factors. Taine, the French rationalist, opined that the Germanic mind and mentality were shaped by the "rigor and gloom of German climate." Miss Semple maintains that the origin of a people can best be stated by taking note of climatic variations and that climate and national temperament show marked correspondence.

It was Buckle, who in the first volume of his *History of Civilization in England*, 1857, popularized the theory that climate, soil, food, altitude, configuration of the ground, and other aspects of

¹ *Culture and Ethnology*, p. 47

² *Ibid.*, p. 49

nature are the main factors in social and intellectual advance. But Professor Todd has easy work in demolishing some of Buckle's forced parallelisms between weather conditions and national character. "The economic effects of heat are stressed by both Montesquieu and Buckle," he says. "Heat makes lazy men and laggard nations," says the former. The energy and regularity with which labor is conducted will be entirely dependent on the influence of climate, echoes the latter. A certain degree of heat, however, will produce the same result as a certain degree of absence of heat! Hence Buckle arrives at the conclusion that Sweden and Norway, Spain and Portugal, though so different in other respects, are all remarkable for a certain instability and fickleness of character. The conclusion is unqualifiedly absurd, for the Swedes and Norwegians are anything but fickle, and many Portuguese groups have shown remarkable industry and thrift."¹

Nor do the advocates of climatic influence on "the laws, manners, and customs of a people" fare any better when their theories are carefully examined. Todd writes:

"Montesquieu attributes the severity of Japanese laws to the barbarity of the Japanese character. In contrast he cites the Hindus to whom he ascribes tenderness and compassion. Hence, says he, Hindu legislators have decreed few penalties and these very light and these not rigorously enforced. On the other hand, De Tocqueville ascribed the mildness of American penal laws not to climate but to democracy. (But) the suttee in India was not a specially mild custom and was only abolished at the instance of the Englishman from his rude climate. The most superficial study of comparative jurisprudence, and in particular the evolution of criminal procedure, would establish that the rigor of laws and penalties does not vary with latitude. They are an affair not of geography but of culture history."²

Finally, the same author takes to task those who say that climatic conditions are responsible for the development of literary and artistic genius. "It may be true enough that the cloudless skies of Greece inspired Greek poetry and philosophy and produced a type of national mind unequalled in all history. But what of modern Greeks, Macedonians, and Turks dwelling under those same skies?"

¹ *Theories of Social Progress*, p. 160

² *Ibid.*, p. 162

It is thus seen that "geographic determinists" are hard put to it to save their theory from complete annihilation

8. Social Environment. — But when we consider the social, and more especially the psychosocial environment, we meet a different story. Practically all students of human behavior stress its importance. We may best illustrate the force of this kind of environment as an upbuilding and constructive force by referring to the influence of "favorable home environment" on the mental and moral development of children. "The habits of concentration of thought," Professor Good writes, "of persistence, of careful and accurate thinking, and of independence of thinking may be developed almost as largely during these years as habits of language or of manners, or of moral and religious attitudes. If, then, the family can develop these habits by proper education or direction of the activities of the children, it will do much in building habits that will make school life a success"¹

9. Effects of Poor Home Conditions. — On the other hand, there is not a single writer on crime, intemperance, or other forms of social disorder who fails to cite environment as an incentive to antisocial behavior. Professor Sutherland lists the home, the neighborhood, bad companions, gangs, the yellow journal, and picture shows as causes of crime. Of course, all these agencies are in the social environment.

Bad home conditions are often responsible for delinquent women, according to a report prepared under the direction of the United States Commissioner of Labor. We are told that the downfall of these women "is due to moral causes, to their inheritance and early training or lack of training"²

10. Environment and Other Social Conditions. — Practically the entire sphere of social conditions and of social life has been studied by one or the other investigator from the angle of environment. Infant mortality is a much-discussed problem in sociologic writings. Here too we find environment as a causative factor. Infant mortality is generally regarded as one of the most complex social problems of the present day. In an English government report³ we read. "Infant mortality is always highest in crowded

¹ *Sociology and Education*, p. 113

² *Report on Condition of Women and Child Wage-Earners in the United States*, "Relation between Occupation and Criminality of Women," Vol. XV

³ *Thirty-Ninth Annual Report of the Local Government Board of Great Britain*, "Supplement on Infant and Child Mortality," pp. 75, 76

centers of population, but a high infant mortality can (by proper measures as to sanitation and housing) be avoided even under conditions of dense aggregation of population. Infant mortality is highest in those countries where, under urban conditions of life, filthy privies are permitted, where scavenging is neglected, and where the streets and yards are to a large extent not 'made up' or 'paved'."

11. Cultural Environment. — We have not yet spoken of the effect of what may be called the cultural environment upon the general character of a community. The spirit of freedom and democracy, so conspicuous in our country, the wide opportunities open to all alike to attain to eminence in the professions and in political office, the generous cooperation of all classes at times of national disasters — these are to some extent the fruitage of our cultural environment.

On the other hand, we sadly lack those fine cultural traditions and that rich cultural heritage which are the portion even of some of the poorer village communities of Europe. In fact, it has often been alleged — whether justly or unjustly we are not prepared to say — that our national life is decidedly poorer from the cultural point of view than that of most European people.

Some semblance is lent to this statement when we compare our achievements in fine arts and belles-lettres, and even in some fields of scholarship, with those of the older nations of Europe.

Professor Leighton¹ says that "the extraordinary productiveness of Scotland in philosophers, theologians and scholars has been due, probably, as much to the educational and intellectual environment, *especially to the high honor paid to these things in Scotland*, as to any special innate virtues in Scottish chromosomes." He says, in explanation of this fact, that "something more subtle than a mechanically organized system of education goes into the potency of a social environment. That something is the pressure of the whole social and cultural atmosphere, the entire standards of value of a nation or community, expressed in many subtle ways. The chief causes of both the virtues and defects of American cultural life are the prevailing standards of social valuation."

12. Determinants of Cultural Environment. — The type of cultural environment is largely determined by the nature and quality of social stimulation. The latter is one of the most important factors in social life and has been called "the primary process in

¹ *The Individual and the Social Order*, pp. 499, 500.

social psychology" Stimulation, in turn, presupposes interaction and contact of persons with persons and of groups with groups By contacts in the "sociologic sense" we do not mean contact only through the senses, by visual and auditory sensations, and by face-to-face relations with the members of an intimate or primary group But social contacts include also wider relations between separated groups, relations which have become increasingly more numerous by the developments of applied science

Now these contacts, which help in the development of a cultural environment, promote, in turn, social stimulation But the number and quality of social stimuli which a person experiences, and by virtue of which he will again stimulate others, depend on several factors First, there is the physical environment The Eskimo of the polar region, leading a poor existence in a harsh environment, constantly engaged in the food quest, will hardly have time or inclinations for cultural pursuits

Knud Rasmussen tells a story which illustrates this point "Once when out hunting, I asked an Eskimo who seemed to be plunged in reflection, 'What are you standing there thinking about?' He laughed at my question, and said, 'Oh! it is only you white men who go in so much for thinking, up here we only think of our fleshpots and of whether we have enough or not for the long dark of the winter'"¹

But the temperate zone allows leisure for other things beside the rude struggle for food, clothing, and shelter, and has been called the cradle and school of civilization

Secondly, a person's stimuli and incentives to thought, desires, and actions are determined by family and home connections It is for this reason that Catholic educators and social workers lay so much stress upon early home training The absence of the latter during the impressionable period of early childhood has often been mentioned as a factor making for delinquency

There can be no doubt that a child whose early memories and impressions are of the better kind, whose contacts with parents and relatives in the home circle are helpful in the formation of good moral habits, will have a better start in life and will enjoy better advantages on the road to a socially useful career than one whose early contacts are degrading and an incentive to self-indulgence and delinquency

¹ *The People of the Polar North*, pp 117, 118

Take, for instance, the surroundings of many a poor lad in the larger city. Dr. Peter Roberts¹ has so well depicted the environment of many immigrant families in our cities that we reproduce his statement: "The congested slums of large cities are wholly occupied by the foreigners and their children. The one-room house, the dark hallway, the dirty alley, the dismal street, the degrading tenement make up the environment of sons of immigrants in America. Not a stone's throw from this dirt, crowding, poverty, and wretchedness, are seen windows bursting with riches, mansions empty or occupied by a few favored ones, stores filled with articles that entice the eye and tempt the hand. . . . Then we compare the boy, living under these conditions and temptations, with the boy of native parentage living in a comfortable home in a suburban town, removed from the temptations of tenement life, and under economic conditions which ward off poverty and want."

It is this relative poverty of "cultural environment" in the home, in the circle of relatives, and in the immediate neighborhood that partially accounts for the lower "intelligence ratings" sometimes obtained by children of immigrants than by children of well-to-do Americans. The cultural background of the children of native-born parents may not really be much superior to that of the foreigner, but certain stimuli, advantageous to school progress, help the native rather than the immigrant child.

Finally, as Bogardus observes,² "behind parental, racial, and associate contacts there are *group heritages* which perhaps excel all other factors in determining social stimuli (and therefore also culture). The attitudes of the family group, of play, school, racial, and other groups are largely determined by heritages. The particular language which a person speaks, his ethics, his religious views, his political beliefs, cannot be understood outside a knowledge of his group heritages."

13. Recent Scientific Developments and Their Effect on Cultural Environment. — Mechanical invention is one of the dominant characteristics of our culture today. This has deprived many of our people of the intimate associations with nature and of the skills resulting from various handicrafts — all of which were the portion of earlier generations. The "instinct of workmanship," for instance, cannot find much room on account of the standardized,

¹ *The New Immigration*, p. 326

² *Fundamentals of Social Psychology*, p. 105

large-scale production in the modern factory It was different, however, in the days of the mediæval guilds

Though we have therefore lost certain agencies making for cultural enrichment, modern science, on the other hand, has opened wider avenues of culture to the masses By means of the radio we can "listen in" on the wit and wisdom of the entire nation and share artistic treats that were formerly reserved for the few The movie brings the life and activity of strange nations within our view The special editions of the great dailies keep us in touch with events in far-away countries, so that we know what is afoot in Moscow and Benares and Constantinople, sometimes while the event is still in progress Hence our "secondary contacts," that is, the contacts of externality and greater distance, are amplified and new channels of cultural environment are opened

14. Heredity and Environment.—But if we summarize all that has been said on environment, the much-debated question as to the respective influence of heredity and environment on human life and destiny still remains unanswered What forces produced Aristotle, Plato, Cicero, St Augustine, St Thomas Aquinas, Dante, Shakespeare, Calderon, St Francis Xavier, Newton, Leibnitz, Columbus, Pasteur, and other distinguished scholars, inventors, and social leaders? Was it nature or nurture, heredity or environment? We do not know

But one thing we do know that every human being is a free personality, has certain individual rights, may rise superior to the handicap of heredity and the evil influence of environment, and achieve distinction where a person with a sounder heredity and more fortunate surroundings has failed Does not much depend upon individual energy, good will, and cooperation with those helps which a kind Providence places within reach of most mortals?

This has been the opinion of a man who is acknowledged to be one of the best interpreters of the joys and sorrows, the hopes and fears, the desires and thwarted ambitions of humanity—Shakespeare Though he wrote "We are such stuff as dreams are made of, And our little life is rounded with a sleep," he depicts man as master of his fate, and as exerting a salutary control over the forces of his environment And this is a view which wise students of man have defended and which lends hope that gradually we may conquer those adverse forces that block the way to greater social progress

TOPICS FOR DISCUSSION

- 1 Give an example of the depressing influence of environment
- 2 Show how climate may affect one's disposition
- 3 In what sense is it true that the tropics are the cradle of humanity?
- 4 How has the influence of environment been exaggerated?
- 5 Why has England become a great commercial nation?
- 6 What is the theory of Buckle as to the development of civilization?
- 7 Explain Karl Marx's theory of economic determinism
- 8 Distinguish human from physical environment
- 9 Explain the term "technical environment"
- 10 Is it true to say that "mountaineers are conservative"?
- 11 What is psychosocial environment?
- 12 How did the American Indian adapt himself to his environment?
- 13 Do you believe that there is truth in the saying "the superstitiousness of sailors"?
- 14 Point out some of the fallacies of Montesquieu and Buckle in their explanations of "the instability and fickleness of character" of some nations
- 15 Explain the term "social environment"
- 16 Why are "home conditions" a phase of social environment?
- 17 How does Professor Leighton account for the large number of Scotch thinkers and writers?
- 18 In what sense is the temperate zone the school and cradle of civilization?
- 19 What influence is "congested city environment" apt to have on the children of the poor?
- 20 Are "group heritages" strong factors in cultural development?
- 21 How has group life and culture been affected by widening sources of information? By the printing press? The telegraph and telephone? The radio?
- 22 Has our generation lost any source of cultural development possessed by the youth of the last century?
- 23 Are heredity and environment the sole determining factors in character and in individual success?

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CHAPTER II

HABITS

I. Habits. — No one will deny the power of external or environmental agencies on social life, but these agencies do not have the force of abiding qualities known as "habits." A habit is an abiding and long-tried disposition to act according to reason. Habits are the results of growth and practice. They have their roots both in heredity and environment. Man needs environment more than does the brute animal, which is guided solely by instinct. Man's temperament is inherited, his character is the result of habit. In seeking for the cause of social progress or deterioration, we cannot lay too much stress upon the power of habits as social factors. The weeks and years at school are to form habits, habits of religion, habits of patriotism, habits of thrift and self-dependence, habits of study and observation. We are under the domination of our habits for good or evil. As habits are slowly formed, so the chain which they rivet is difficult to break. Link by link the chain is forged, act by act a habit is formed. Once formed, of its very nature it is an abiding possession.

It is not necessary here to go into a detailed explanation of the physiology and psychology which enter into the formation of a habit.¹ All knowledge comes through the senses. By a stimulus of the senses brain pictures called "phantasms" are recorded, and the soul makes use of the phantasms to form immaterial pictures, properly called "ideas." Now by frequent repetition, these brain pictures become more and more deeply impressed upon the nervous system. The soul reacts upon them more readily, and the practice of virtue or vice becomes a second nature. One can readily understand, then, how habits become a part of our very being and exert an influence upon our individual and social life.

2. Social Forces. — Social forces are *moral* powers which influence social conditions. It is true that a social force may at times find its application as a physical power and as such may be a

¹ See Part VI, Chap. III

dominating social influence. For instance, emigration may result from physical forces or conditions, such as are found in the overcrowded island of Japan. Its limited geographical extent has driven millions of its people to seek homes in other lands. Generally, however, social forces refer to moral powers; that is, activities which are subject to the free will of man. Social forces may take the form of institutions, such as the Church, the family, and the State. Historical events, as the Crusades, the Reformation, and the age of the invention of machinery exercised very marked results in social life. Individuals, too, who have left the impress of their work upon their times are social forces, and here we would not only enumerate great military and political leaders but also great organizers, like St. Benedict and St. Vincent of Paul, Florence Nightingale, and Henry Ford.

Whether we refer the term "social forces" to institutions, historical epochs, or individuals, there is always an underlying element which influences the life of the individual and through him becomes a social force in an organization, an institution, or a community. Such moral forces are sometimes called "attitudes" or "tendencies," "interests" or "wishes." But none of these influences has so predominating a force as the habits of prudence, justice, fortitude, and temperance.¹

3. Prudence. — Prudence is a habit by which one knows what means are best to attain a certain end and which inclines one to take these means with promptitude and precision. As a social force the necessity of prudence can scarcely be overemphasized. It is especially needed in our own times when we are prone to experiment with human life and with institutions which have long been sacred.

Prudence prompts one to inquire into all the methods and means by which a thing is to be attained. Let us take the example of social betterment. On first consideration there could seem to be no objection whatever to an employer's movement to better the condition of his employees — to provide them with attractive rest rooms, with music and other forms of entertainment, to encourage games and dances during intermission hours, to employ lecturers

¹ In this chapter the word "habit" is used instead of "virtue," as the latter generally refers to those acts which are of a supernatural character and merit reward for eternal life. As sociology has for its object the temporal happiness of man, the term "habit" fits in better with this conception.

to instruct them in regard to their duties in the factory and at home, in fine, to lighten the burden of the employees and to prove to them that the employers seriously consider the good of all those who work for them. Still, there is doubt in the minds of some people as to the real usefulness of the social betterment movement. Perhaps in no other industry was it more highly perfected than in the National Cash Register factory of Dayton, Ohio. No amount of money was spared. Experts for every department were secured, but the outcome of it all was not satisfactory. The employees were accused of being ungrateful and unappreciative of all that was done for them, while they in return objected to too much paternalism. If a favor was to be done for them, they preferred higher wages and to be left to themselves to seek their own choice in recreation and in forms of social betterment.

Great prudence should be exercised by all social workers in seeking for means to improve social conditions. The remedy may on first view seem trivial and easy of application. But choose any social evil in your community which in your opinion should be among the first to be corrected, take a pencil and jot down the various means and methods which you think should be used to eradicate the evil. You will find that the question will become quite complicated and not nearly so easy of solution as had at first appeared.

Another act of prudence consists in the judgment by which, after a careful consideration of all the various means to attain an end, those are chosen which are best suited and those are rejected which are apt in some way to militate against the object in view. Let us return to the example given above — to that of the National Cash Register factory at Dayton, Ohio. It was no easy task from the various possible methods to choose just those which would bring about the social betterment of the working people. Many plans were tried and abandoned, and others substituted in their place. This experimentation went on for ten years or more. Probably a better insight into human nature and greater exercise of judgment would have convinced the directors at the outset that certain plans were sure to fail.

Or take the example of the housing system at Pullman, Illinois. Its founder had the best of intentions. He was a philanthropist and wished to benefit those who aided him in making his millions. In return he would give them good homes. He built the homes, but

kept the title to them. They were good homes, and the rent was cheap. But the plan did not succeed. And why? Because with all his wonderful executive powers Mr. Pullman did not have the judgment to select the means which would bring contentment to his workmen. Like the late Mr. Patterson of Dayton, he became too paternal, and the men whom he sought to assist revolted against methods which kept them bound to the Pullman interests. Henry Ford has learned this lesson of prudence. While he has given a liberal wage and has to some extent supervised the expenditure of the money, he has avoided that paternalism which was so detrimental to the philanthropy of earlier organizers.

On entering upon social work, the inexperienced will be startled by the number of problems which present themselves. For each problem there will be numerous apparent solutions, but of these solutions many will fail utterly, many will be so complicated as to have no practical bearing, only a few will be a real means of eradicating a social evil. It requires no small amount of judgment to pick out these few and to discard all the rest. How often we go on blundering and experimenting when an application of the sound principles of good judgment would solve a problem. Judgment, then, is an essential requisite or habit for the social worker.

4. Justice. — Justice¹ is defined as a constant will to give every one his own. It differs from prudence in this that it has other people as its special subject matter, and its end is to secure right social relationship between one person and another. In its broad application justice demands that we fulfill our obligations to God through the exercise of religion. Justice further requires the fulfillment of certain duties towards parents, relatives, and country. It seeks to secure fair treatment for all, to guard against favoritism, to see that public offices are given to those most capable of holding them, that taxation is rightly distributed, that public funds are properly spent. If citizens could be made to understand the importance of this habit and if it found its universal application in social and economic life, most of the abuses of our times would be forestalled or corrected. Not only are people placed in public positions contrary to justice, but in many social organizations fitness for positions is often sacrificed for social standing in a community, and those are chosen for leaders in social work who have had little training or aptitude for the office. Not only is the habit of justice

¹ Justice as a social force is more fully explained in Part II, Chap. V.

needed for employer and employee, buyer and seller, but it has its application in the ordinary communications of a daily life. It requires veracity, fidelity, gratitude, love of neighbor, liberality, and even affability and friendship. In vain will social workers study principles or make surveys or map out programs of social reform, unless the habit of justice is brought into play and does its part in the various relationships of the community. Sociologists have pointed out the necessity of certain attitudes toward social problems and of wishes to bring about general reform, but beneath these there must be the virtue of justice which moves the will to give to every one his own.

5. Fortitude.—Fortitude is a habit which strengthens the individual to face danger. The acts of fortitude are twofold: (a) sufferance and (b) aggression. Sufferance demands patience and perseverance. It supposes that the difficulty which we encounter is not a theoretical one or one at a distance from us, but one that we must meet at once. Sufferance is generally practiced in regard to a prolonged evil. Aggression is easier than sufferance, because it supposes a state of mind in which we regard ourselves stronger than the enemy and that we are prepared to attack him successfully.

While fortitude is most frequently used in regard to physical dangers and in the time of great catastrophes, still it has its application in every form of social work. Since social work of the most fruitful kind is often void of any glamour and is only brought about by long and patient activity, fortitude is a necessary requisite for any one who would seek to better social conditions. Even a superficial knowledge of social progress of the past will convince one that few changes have been made hurriedly. It required nearly seventy-five years of patient work before the ten-hour law was introduced into Massachusetts. Those interested in child labor are still battling against the opposition of heartless employers and legal technicalities to drive this abuse from the land. There is scarcely a city without serious housing problems, and yet earnest social workers have in many places sought in vain for the enactment of laws or for the creation of a public spirit which would do away with the evil. Again, there is the question of the minimum wage law, especially for women and children. There is a crying need for such a law, but employers have thus far thwarted legislation in the very centers where legislation is most needed. We give these examples to impress upon those interested in social reform that they need

the special virtue of fortitude to fight on bravely. They must not only have the spirit of aggression which starts a movement and makes a sudden attack upon existing evils, but they should also have the virtue of sufferance, which will enable them to work on with patience and perseverance until they have finally reached the goal.

6. Temperance. — Temperance is a habit having for its object the regulation of one's pleasures and passions which tend toward sensible objects. The word "pleasure," which occurs in the definition, does not call for an explanation, but passions may not be fully understood by all. Passions are not of themselves evil, they are sensible emotions which are aroused or excited by sensible objects. They are eleven in number, love and hatred, desire and aversion, joy and sadness, hope and despair, fear and daring, and finally anger. It will be noticed in the enumeration that anger has no opposite. While good in themselves, if the passions are not regulated by temperance, they become the sources of manifold social evils. Psychology or ethics treats of the passions as affecting the individual, sociology regards them as factors in assisting or retarding social life. No attempt will be made in this book to treat of the eleven passions individually, but only in bringing out the meaning of temperance and other habits. In the second part of the definition it is stated that temperance always refers to sensible objects, they may be enumerated as pleasures of touch, eating, drinking, and sex behavior. There are several subdivisions of temperance which will follow in this chapter and which will bring out fully the meaning of the term and its application to social life.

The word "temperance" is so often used in reference to eating and drinking that one is inclined to refer to only to these actions, but it has a far wider application. Take but a single popular amusement: namely, that of attending the "movies." It is the habit of temperance that should regulate one in this form of recreation. Indulgent parents who permit their children to attend the movies every night, or even accompany them, fail in their duty of assisting their children to form habits of temperance. A child who has been humored in this way will never be a strong character, for temperance as a means of character formation requires exertion and self-conquest. Again, apart from their spiritual significance, days of fasting and penance are of the greatest social good. Such actions strengthen one's character by enabling the individual to gain a vic-

tory over himself. The discipline of a school or of an army has the same tendency to assist one in forming habits of temperance. One who understands the value of temperance will always make use of sensible objects in such a way as to be a better man or woman. This mastery of oneself is often more difficult to acquire than bravery in an army, the mastery of oneself is the most difficult of battles. It is the habit of temperance that enables one to gain this victory. A society in which the members have not been taught temperance will soon be a society of weaklings.

Above all, the habit of temperance should be inculcated among the young, and the school is the logical place for this teaching. If pupils of the grades are imbued with the necessity of temperance in all pleasures, the most difficult part of their character formation has been accomplished. For this reason certain features of kindergarten work are not pedagogically sound, for it leaves too much to the whims and caprices of children just when they should be grasping the ideas of obeying. The elective system, so much heralded as the cure-all for our educational problems, has the inherent weakness of leaving the student to pick the easiest way and seek for the least work at a time of life when he should recognize the obligations of temperance.

7. Abstinence. — The first subdivision of the habit of temperance is abstinence. The habit of abstinence in its first application is opposed to the excessive use of food, or to gluttony. The person who practices abstinence shows prudence and forethought, he is a true philosopher. He is not ignorant of the pleasures of eating and drinking, he knows that nature has connected a certain amount of pleasure with these acts, as a stimulus for taking the food and drink necessary for bodily growth and strength, but he also knows that only a certain amount of food and drink is required by the human system and that anything in excess of this amount will be injurious. He knows, moreover, that the use of certain highly flavored dishes such as appeal to the epicurean tends to induce one to eat too much. *All this he understands well, and as a result he practices abstinence.* There are thousands of railroad employees who practice abstinence from drink, because it makes them more reliable and efficient, there are thousands who practice abstinence from all use of tobacco, because by so doing they are better business men.

The habit of abstinence does not connote gloom or depression

The soldier preparing for battle, or the athlete in training for games, willingly and gladly practices temperance in the use of food, he denies himself the much-coveted cigar or cigarette, he retires early to rest and strengthens himself. He prides himself on his will power to make the sacrifice; he is happy in doing so, life is more worth the living for the sacrifice which he has made. Greek culture was bought at the price of sacrifice and abstinence. Every part of the severer military and social training demanded abstinence. Nor is there any contradiction between the abstinence required in pagan Greek culture, and Christian moral life and asceticism. The latter is higher, because its object is far more noble, it seeks the perfection and sanctification of the soul and not the more perfect beauty and development of the body. Christian virtue, in demanding that form of temperance known as abstinence, creates an atmosphere of joy and contentment. The historians and ethicists who depict Greek life as all joy, and Christian life as tending to rob individuals of the genuine pleasures, have a false concept of the factors which make for real joy and happiness.

There are vicious habits opposed to abstinence, the first of them being gluttony. As any good habit must be of assistance in one's individual or social life, so must the opposite vicious habit work to one's detriment. Gluttony is of its very nature degrading. One of the most revolting incidents in the history of Roman civilization was the practice of the guests gormandizing at banquets and then deliberately forcing themselves to vomit, only to return to the feast to play the part of disgusting vultures. One falls into the habit of gluttony not only by eating too much, but also by eating too hastily. The business man, the golf player, or the baseball fan, who will not take time for the proper mastication of food, but gulps down his nourishment as a wild animal devours its prey, is cultivating a habit of gluttony and making himself less fit as a member of society. By eating too greedily, sumptuously, or even too daintily, one is to a more or less degree falling into a habit of gluttony.

Since gluttony is a vicious habit, its fruits must be such as to degrade those who are its victims. It tends to produce uncleanness in thoughts and desires and awakens the lowest passions in the human breast. It is difficult for the gluttonous person to be pure and chaste; he easily becomes a disgrace to himself and a menace to society. He is bent upon seeking the most unseemly pleasures. He is often loquacious, but his language smacks of scurrility, then

from over boisterousness he quickly subsides into dullness of spirit

8. Sobriety.—The second subdivision of the habit of temperance is sobriety. It has for its object the proper check or regulation in the use of drink, and it is best expressed by the adjective sober. Drunkenness, the opposite of sobriety, is one of the most difficult habits to correct. It has worked its greatest ruin among those nations which partake of strong alcoholic drinks. While the habit of drunkenness has been a social evil from the time of the records of humanity, it was at its worst in England about the close of the seventeenth century, when English ale and beer were discarded for spirituous drinks. It has been a less serious social problem among those nations of modern times in which beer and wine have been freely used.

We do not share the opinion of those who believe that sobriety can be brought about by so drastic a measure as the Eighteenth Amendment. "There are indications to date that prohibition has been somewhat of an accelerator in economic activity. Whether it will continue to work may be doubted. It clearly violates the principles of individual liberty, and seems to be based on the idea of doing evil that good may come from it. Already there is evidence that the making of crimes out of acts that are not in themselves sinful is gradually undermining and disintegrating the public respect for law in general, and such a condition cannot be permanently healthful even in an economic sense. To suppose that prohibition is or even can be a basis or dynamic factor in our prosperity is to imagine a vain being."¹

9. Chastity.—A third division of temperance is the habit of chastity. It is a distinct habit from that of abstinence, as it has for its object the reasonable regulations of sex life. Since nature has implanted within human beings such strong instincts and passions (desires) for the propagation of the human race, the habit of chastity which holds these desires within their proper bounds is an important social factor. The unchaste generation will gradually disappear from the face of the earth as a punishment of its violation of chastity. While sex tendencies are strong, every individual has the power to regulate them, provided due caution and circumspection are used. Any breaking down of safeguards in this respect is a detriment to social life. It is an insult to the Creator to assert that He has given human beings such strong inclinations

¹ *Commerce and Finance*, November 24, 1926.

that it is impossible to check or regulate them, and it is equally fatal to society to teach that the sex impulses should be given free reign. Chastity requires those who have not entered upon the married life to refrain from all carnal pleasures and sex indulgence, but even those who are married have not the liberty of unbridled use of the matrimonial state. They should cultivate another habit, the habit of continence, which enables them to practice due restraint in the exercise of their marriage rights. One of the most perplexing social problems of our day is birth control. The topic is ever being brought before the public, but the principles which underlie it and give a solution to the difficulty are not new.¹

10. Modesty.—A fourth division of temperance is the habit of modesty. Although it is closely related to chastity and is one of its safeguards, it is a distinct habit and has for its object the proper regulation of outward movements. Connected with modesty is reserve, which is implanted by nature as a special protection of the innocent and the young. It is not, properly speaking, a habit, but a passion, and it may be considered as related to aversion. It assists one in turning away from disgraceful actions and objects. One of the serious objections against instructing the young in sex matters is that it breaks down shamefacedness and encourages a certain familiarity of the young with the sex passions. Modesty bears its fruit in such other habits as humility, contentedness, and simplicity. Modern dances and fashions are tending to break down the ideals of modesty, they are often the open door to immorality.

11. Clemency.—A fifth division of the habit of temperance is clemency. It is essentially a social habit and, unlike some other habits mentioned in this chapter, deals not with the individual who practices it but with others. It differs from justice in that it does not demand full retribution or sanction for the violation of a law or any act where injury has been done. In its most perfect form it can be classified as meekness. Clemency holds in check the passion of anger, which manifests itself in quarreling, contumely, bodily injury, indignation, and often blasphemy.

At present we are inclined to confuse clemency toward criminals with an excessive leniency. It has always been the custom among Christian nations to show mercy toward those in prison, and to visit the prisoners has ever been regarded a work of mercy. But

¹ For a discussion of the evils of birth control see Collateral Reading, Chapter V.

this clemency should not go so far as to release the prisoners and allow them to become a menace to law-abiding citizens, nor is the application of the parole system to be so lax that the prisoner has an opportunity to return to his evil ways. Instances have been given of paroled convicts who set to work systematically to rob and steal. Thus they come into possession of money enough to hire a disreputable lawyer who aids them in their discharge from the penitentiary. In St. Louis recently a mother pleaded with the judge to allow her son to come home from the house of correction for the Christmas holidays. The permission was thoughtlessly granted. It was a case of false clemency on the part of both the mother and the judge, for the boy immediately began to hold up pedestrians; and it was only after he had made eleven successful holdups that he was again arrested. A false clemency toward murderers and other evildoers has been one of the social mistakes of our times. Antivivisectionists have confused clemency with kindness toward animals. The word "clemency" of its very nature is applicable only to rational beings; it finds no application to animals.

12. Competition and Conflict. — Another manifestation of social forces is found in competition and conflict. Even the latter may have salutary effects if properly regulated. Let us dwell for a moment upon the social effects of competition. There are modern leaders in pedagogics who would exclude all competition from our schools. They criticize the Jesuit system of education which has encouraged competition as a praiseworthy incentive for work, but the very institutions in which professors argue against competition offer prizes and scholarships as incentives to industry. Competition when properly regulated tends to bring out some of the best qualities within us. Can you imagine persons at any game where there was no element of competition? You may point out certain gymnastic exercises in which all engage and where there is no apparent thought of vying with each other, and yet the desire to do as well as a companion and the word of praise or of criticism from the director are proofs of the good of competition. We do not agree with those who would deprive merit of all reward, even the Divine Teacher did not hesitate to hold up the promises of future happiness as compensation for a life well spent in this world.

We hold that even conflict, which is but a form of social activity, is not necessarily harmful. There may be times when it is difficult

to draw the line of demarcation between conflict and competition. Conflict may tend to bring out some of the best qualities in the human heart and a resolve to make any sacrifice rather than yield a principle. We have an example of this in the labor strike. Here is a conflict, often one that entails long sacrifice, but the strike is entered upon to safeguard what the workman considers something almost as sacred as life. We would not, then, entirely eliminate conflict from our social lives, rather we would endeavor to eradicate the evils which lead to conflict. If these evils cannot be forestalled or corrected, then conflict must be the inevitable result. War itself is one of the greatest manifestations of the spirit of conflict. A just war cannot be condemned. It is fought on the principle that it is better to sacrifice human life than to yield to such extreme injustice that the very essential rights of life are taken from us.

13. Accommodation. — Another manifestation of our human nature, and opposed to conflict, is accommodation. We do not contradict ourselves when we admit that both conflict and accommodation are laudable social qualities. If there is an injustice which threatens grave evils, we are justified in bringing into play the spirit of conflict within us. But if there are slight injuries, or if there are only inconveniences which arise from a difference of temper or nationality or minor circumstances, it would be better for us to accommodate ourselves to persons and occasions rather than to assume a spirit of opposition. Unless we possess to some degree the spirit of accommodation, it would seem almost impossible for us to secure that happiness in social life which is our due and our inheritance, for we meet many persons and are found in many situations where things do not altogether suit our nature or disposition. Here the virtue of patience comes into play, and in fact we would prefer to use the term "patience" rather than that of accommodation. In religion much is made of this virtue of patience by which we can take the trivial things of life, with their little sufferings and disappointments, and make of them means of golden reward. It has been noted that certain nations on account of the spirit of accommodation have a tendency to survive when other nations perish. The Indian seems wanting in this spirit of accommodation. He has enjoyed the advantages of education and has come in contact with civilized life, and yet he does not seem capable of accommodating himself to this change in conditions. An irresistible lure takes him back to his wigwam on the frontiers of

civilization. On the other hand, the colored race seems especially gifted with this spirit of accommodation, and it is for this very reason that it is able to survive.

14. Assimilation.—We may briefly consider another social quality, which we call "assimilation." Most European immigrants are admitted into this country because they do not resist assimilation. They come to stay, to be citizens of the United States, they respond promptly to the requirements demanded of the alien, they eagerly master the elementary forms of civil law and civil government, they swear allegiance to the flag, and they declare in no uncertain terms that they seek the social, political, and religious liberty found within the United States. On the other hand, one of the principal arguments against the admission of the Japanese and Chinese is that they do not come to the United States to be a part of the country. They resist assimilation, they live their lives apart and frequently after amassing considerable fortunes return to their own country. One of the recent decisions in the Supreme Court of the United States was against a native of India who sought citizenship in the United States, and although he could prove that he was of the Caucasian race, the Supreme Court denied the privilege to him, because his people, when admitted into this country, proved that they did not possess the quality of assimilation. As means of travel between foreign countries becomes easier, the question of assimilation will probably be the deciding factor in the admission of those who seek citizenship in the United States.

TOPICS FOR DISCUSSION

- 1 Name five individuals who in your opinion have been social forces for good. In what way have they exercised an influence on their community?
- 2 Name five individuals who in your opinion have exercised a social influence for evil.
- 3 Mention five historical epochs which were great social forces.
- 4 Was the age of invention of machinery a social force for good?
- 5 Are inventions in general social forces?
- 6 Was the American Revolution a social force?
- 7 In general, do social forces which work slowly accomplish greater good than those which work rapidly?
- 8 Is religion a social force? Is it primarily so?
- 9 Could the great Chicago fire be called a social force?
- 10 Could the Great War be called a social force?

- 11 Could a Mississippi flood be called a social force?
- 12 In what sense could an earthquake be called a social force?
- 13 In what sense could the Great Lakes be called social forces?
- 14 Mention three agencies in the country which are the greatest social forces
- 15 Mention several agencies in your state which are important social forces
- 16 Mention several agencies in your city which are important social forces
- 17 In what way can wages, unemployment, housing, and recreation be called social forces?
- 18 Define attitude, wish, interest, and gratitude, and explain how they may become social forces
- 19 Enumerate three instances in which in your opinion social workers offended against prudence in dealing with families
- 20 Enumerate instances in which social workers failed to inculcate temperance when dealing with families in want
- 21 Enumerate instances where in your opinion (1) employers have failed in justice toward the workmen, (2) and workmen have failed in justice toward employers
- 22 Does the workman fail in justice if he loafs upon the job?
- 23 Do workmen fail in justice when they agree to extend a job beyond reason so as to draw a wage for a longer time?
- 24 Does the virtue of temperance apply to dancing and social visits?
- 25 Why has the social worker great need of the virtue of fortitude?
- 26 Discuss the relative importance of the terms competition, conflict, assimilation, accommodation, and social contact.

CHAPTER III

GROUP BEHAVIOR

1. A New Terminology.—Like every new and vigorous science, sociology has coined a number of terms and phrases which are useful and necessary in the discussion of questions pertaining to its field. Many of these terms refer to some form of group life. Thus we have group behavior, group conflict, opposition, stimulation, social mind, social control, etc. These useful sociologic tools will be used in the present chapter.

In previous chapters we discussed social phenomena not as consciously produced by members of a society, but as the practically inevitable accompaniment of group life. But often individuals act more or less consciously as members of a group, as for instance, in the family, at school, in a play group, as members of a church society, in a debating club, in a patriotic organization, or even in war, during a strike, a race riot, etc.

In many of these types of collective behavior we have illustrations of what has sometimes been called the social mind. It is a term which ought to be used with great caution. For after all, there is no such entity. We see only the *results* or *effects* of certain crowd activities, effects which would not have been produced by one individual acting alone. Thus, in a race riot and in a strike certain deeds are committed which in the first case are almost always, and in the second case, frequently, are of an antisocial character. We speak of a "social mind" in action, though even this is a figurative expression, for we can never say that there is a collective or group mind or intellect, or a social brain.

Giddings defines social mind as "the phenomenon of many individual minds in interaction, so playing upon one another that they simultaneously feel the same sensation or emotion, arrive at one judgment and perhaps act in concert"¹. In other words, the phrase implies that very often there is a mental unity in our social life.

¹ *Principles of Sociology*, p. 134

2. Importance of Likemindedness. — This is a most precious asset in every group and in every larger community. A group in which there are found more or less the same social and political ideals, a standard of living accepted by a large number of families and individuals, a common purpose and common traditions, is apt to be a strong group. In fact, even a group of persons who, though not in strong sympathy with one another, have at least certain common aims may be called a congenial group.

Such groups promote the welfare of their members in manifold ways. Emigrants from the same village of Europe, sharing the same language, faith, and national traditions, have established many flourishing and happy settlements in this country and have, at the same time, contributed to the welfare of America.

The mediæval craft guilds, which may be called the labor unions of the Middle Ages, and which did much to dignify labor and to encourage artistic achievements, became such a fruitful social leaven on account of the likemindedness that united the members of the various crafts.

We are often reminded that there is less crime of a certain kind in one year, in a country like England, than in some of our large cosmopolitan cities like New York and Chicago. But those who have studied this question say that the greater "homogeneity" of the people of England should be considered, as it is a factor making for public order. Says Mr. Raymond B. Fosdick: "Homogeneity simplifies the task of government. Long-established traditions of order and standards of public conduct, well-understood customs and practices which smooth the rough edges of personal contact, a definite racial temperament, and a fixed set of group habits by which conflicting interests are more readily comprehended and adjusted — in short, the social solidarity and cohesiveness which come only from a common language and a common heritage — all these factors, so interwoven in French and English community life and so essential in facilitating the maintenance of law, are utterly unknown in many of the towns and cities of the United States."¹

3. Race Riots and Strikes. — City life furnishes examples of the behavior of crowds and of the workings of the social mind. We have had many race riots in this country. Some persons gifted with leadership start the uprising at a certain time and gather

¹ *Crime in America and the Police*, p. 7.

around them a number of sympathetic followers, the excitement spreads rapidly to other persons not yet inclined to violence or mob behavior, but they soon fall victims to the "social contagion," and the riot is on. Under such conditions the mob will not shrink from murder and arson.

In a strike, especially in the one which assumes larger dimensions, somewhat the same steps may be noted. The excitement spreads from person to person. A vociferous speaker, or a well-chosen slogan, stirs up latent passions, and then at once arises the danger of disregarding laws and resorting to violence. Has not Virgil described in the first book of the *Aeneid*, in language which is appropriate even today, the formation of a crowd, excited by inflammatory harangues and urged on to violence?

4. Further Steps in the Formation of the Social Mind. — The first stage in the genesis of the social mind, especially in such occurrences as just described, is the massing of men in crowds. The crowd is fickle, suggestible, subject to swift changes of emotion, and apt to be carried away by slogans and shibboleths. The crowd does not think logically, is devoid of a sense of responsibility, and is easily swayed by the demagogue. A crowd often becomes a mob, a riotous assemblage. But "mob" is derived from *mobile vulgus*, the "fickle people." This derivation shows that inconstancy is associated even in the popular mind with the word "mob," which often shows the social mind at its worst.

When people are assembled, whether it be in a disorderly crowd or in an orderly group, stimulation and response take place. Stimulation is the primary process in group behavior and depends on social contacts. Social stimulation develops the main problems and interests of life. Stimuli arise from the presence and action of other individuals, both those of the same group and of other groups. When the sentiments and ideas of all the persons in a group take practically the same direction, so that conscious personality is absent for the time being, a new entity, as it were, arises. It is the psychologic crowd as opposed to the ordinary group, the latter is a mere gathering of persons in the same place without any bond of coherence. In the psychologic crowd, according to Le Bon, a collective mind is formed, doubtless transitory, but presenting very clearly defined characteristics. The crowd forms a single being, and is subjected to the law of the mental unity of crowds.

He further defines its *modus operandi* as follows.

"The most striking peculiarity presented by a psychological crowd is the following. Whoever be the individuals that compose it, however like or unlike be their mode of life, their occupations, their character, or their intelligence, the fact that they have been transformed into a crowd puts them in possession of a sort of collective mind which makes them feel, think, and act in a manner quite different from that in which each individual of them would feel, think, and act were he in a state of isolation. There are certain ideas and feelings which do not come into being, or do not transform themselves into acts except in the case of individuals forming a crowd. The psychological crowd is a provisional being formed of heterogeneous elements, which for a moment are combined, exactly as the cells which constitute a living body form by their reunion a new being which displays characteristics very different from those possessed by each of the cells singly."¹

After the psychologic crowd has been formed, its members will become more conscious of likeness than of differences, though the latter, no doubt, exist. With this consciousness of likeness, of kindred desires and motives, the stage is set for any type of group behavior, be it good or bad, social or antisocial. In the numerous race riots that have broken out in our country the conduct of the crowd is almost always antisocial and criminal.

5. Likemindedness in Primitive Society.—The task of securing conformity to the customs and traditions of the tribe in primitive society, that is, of making individuals full-fledged tribal members, was often achieved by "initiation rites," which were not infrequently of a cruel character and demanded physical and moral courage on the part of the youth to be "initiated." Professor Lowie gives examples of such rites which were, after all, simply the primitive way of securing likemindedness or group conformity.

In the Andaman Islands taboos (food restrictions) play an important part in the initiation.

"Beginning approximately with the eleventh year, both boys and girls are subjected to a probationary period of fasting, during which turtle, honey, pork, and other delicacies are forbidden food. Abstinence from these luxuries is regarded as a test of the neophyte's self-denial, and the period terminates only at the chief's suggestion. The total period is trisected, each lesser division closing with a formal ceremony that absolves from specific restrictions, in this way the taboos against eating turtle, honey, and kidney fat of pig are successively removed."²

¹ Le Bon, Gustave, *The Crowd*, p. 30

² *Primitive Society*, p. 260

Such rites are sanctioned by the traditions of the people, and no one would question their efficacy for securing tribal welfare

In the Banks Islands, a group of small islands in the South Pacific, northeast of the New Hebrides, "a feature characteristic of the secret societies is the attempt to terrorize the uninitiated. A man will blacken his face and body to irrecognizability and sally forth, a cane in the left hand and a club in the right. He hits people who do not get out of the way, with the club, and continually moves about his stick so that no one can see it distinctly. Occasionally there also occurs the wanton destruction or spoliation of a luckless individual's property by an organized band of fraternity members. At a later stage in the ritual of admission not only the candidate, but any person met by the fraternity who has not yet attained high rank in the club receives a beating"¹

Strange as these practices may seem to advanced societies, they have the effect intended — to exert social control over the tribe, to bring about harmony with group standards, to secure a certain form of behavior. Nor has modern society dispensed altogether with such tomfoolery in "initiations" into lodges, fraternities, etc. And the objects of such procedure is precisely that aimed at in savage secret societies — namely, to control to some extent the thinking and acting of members and to bring about more or less uniform group behavior.

6. Three Primary Groups. — There are, of course, much more rational methods for securing group harmony or homogeneity in civilized society than those just alluded to. In fact, the three so-called primary groups, the family, the play group, and the community, no longer resort to fantastic rites or ceremonies to achieve harmony and friendly cooperation among their members. Appeal to high civic and social ideals, to traditions, to public opinion, to the need of teamwork for combating social evils and for promoting social peace, these are some of the means now used to promote wholesome group life and group activity.

Primary groups are those in which the members come into face-to-face relationship with one another, and they are fundamental in forming the social nature of the individuals belonging to them. We have already referred to the family as the fundamental social unit and explained in what sense this is to be understood. It was shown that the family precedes the State in order of time. Prim-

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 280

itive communities are still to be found in which there is hardly the equivalent of the political organization called the State, but family life is maintained, and has sometimes more stability and, perhaps, exerts larger social influence upon the members than is the case in many a modern family of civilized nations

Hence it is in the family, especially when the disintegrating forces already referred to have not yet made an inroad upon it, that the solidarity and socializing power of the group may exert a beneficent influence. The thought may have occurred to some in reading the paragraphs on riots and strikes that group activity or crowd psychology is inclined to take an antisocial turn. But now we realize that, in the family, group contacts and group work may lead to the freest development of the individual and also serve the best interests of other groups and of the whole state.

We need not insist here on the importance of the family as an educational, social, and religious force. Suffice it to say that in the ideal Christian family — and there still remain many — the contributions of group behavior and group activity to the welfare of society are seen at their best.

On the other hand, where the virus of disintegration has begun to sap the energy and stability of this primary group, there arises a danger opposed to the best interests of the community. We need but refer in proof of this statement to the large number of delinquent children who have come from broken homes. It is, therefore, not out of a motive of sentimentality, or selfishness, or ultraconservatism, that many students of social conditions plead for the upkeep of this fundamental, primary social group, but from concern for the welfare of America. Professor Lichtenberger begins a well-documented study on divorce (a main factor in the break-up of the family) by saying "The forces tending to counteract divorce are among the most efficient elements of social control."

There is truth in the saying of this writer that "divorce is the result and not the cause of the break-up of the family." He finds the real cause in the nature of social conditions. He holds that "we must inquire into the great economic, social, and religious movements which, since the Civil War, have wrought such profound changes throughout the whole structure of our American life, in order to ascertain their influence upon the divorce rate."¹

But this is precisely the line along which the true advocates of

¹ Quoted in Wolfe, *Readings in Social Problems*, p. 627

social peace and progress ought to work. They must be alive to the trend of "the great economic, social, and religious movements" of our day, and they must try to guide them in the light of sound and wise ethical and spiritual teaching.

7. The Play Group.—We have become familiar with such phrases as "organized play," "community recreation," etc. These terms indicate that society has developed a new attitude toward what some persons regard as useless, if not dangerous. Observant teachers all agree that play, especially organized play, develops social qualities that are useful in a democratic society and that are not apt to be promoted by regular studies. In fact, play is sometimes as useful as some of the so-called "extracurricular activities" of the school in securing worth-while advantages.

Professor Babbitt has made a distinction between "play-level" and "work-level" education, upon which Dr. Snedden comments as follows: "These distinctions should prove of much assistance to educators in interpreting and adjusting the various objectives of modern education. Children, youths, and adults learn endlessly through play, but not all kinds of play are equally educative in terms of contemporary social needs. Hence education can make choices, not only as between the natural learning of play and the artificial learning of work, but also as between different kinds of natural or "play-level" learning."¹

The values of play toward growth and as a valuable community asset are thus set forth in a leaflet published by the Playground and Recreation Association of America.² "A study made by Allen T. Burns in Chicago on the relationship of playgrounds to juvenile delinquency shows that in 1907, in cases of juvenile delinquents coming from the vicinity of the small playgrounds conducted by the special park commission, there was a decrease in juvenile delinquency of twenty-four per cent within a quarter-mile radius of such playgrounds. The decrease in juvenile delinquency in the city as a whole was eighteen per cent."

In commenting on the fact that three-quarters of all the cases before the criminal courts are offenders under the age of twenty-one, Warden Lawes of Sing Sing, says: "I can see, as the only effective way for the prevention of juvenile delinquency, the wider extension of community system activities, such as the establish-

¹ *Educational Sociology*, p. 315

² 315 Fourth Avenue, New York City

ment of more playgrounds, especially where congestion is at present the greatest, the establishment of community centers to provide opportunities for clean and wholesome recreation, the extension of the Boy-Scout movement and the interest of adult organizations in the boy of today, who may be the criminal of tomorrow "

Of eight hundred girls charged with delinquency in one large city of the United States during one year, more than five hundred attribute their missteps to loneliness and a lack of something to do. Seven out of nine suicides among girls in one year were due, it is believed, to despondency. Social recreation is an antidote for loneliness.

The superintendent of an Indian village for epileptics says " It is hard to overestimate the value of play as a therapeutic agent "

Organized efforts to promote all healthy forms of recreation are all the more desirable today in face of " commercialized amusements," which are a menace to youth in every city. It should be noted here that a puritanic attitude of repression of natural and legitimate play instincts has not been a policy favored by the Church. This is evident from the plays and pageantry carried on with the approval of the Church in mediæval days. The mystery and morality plays, often performed by members of the craft guilds, were an unfailing source of amusement, and incidentally, of instruction to the people of pre-Reformation days.

8. The Community.— Much social work is carried on today for the benefit of that section of a people known as the " community " We speak of community centers, community funds, community councils, etc. The community is sometimes called the neighborhood group, and is as original and primary and universal as the family and play group. The community, made up of a number of families, is a protest against isolation and exists as well in primitive society as in centers of culture.

It is in the community that we see the socializing factors very clearly at work. Such factors are, for instance, community of interest and cooperation. For example, if it is to the interest of a neighborhood to remove a certain source of moral contagion, the citizens will very likely unite, irrespective of creed or politics and, by cooperation, secure removal of the menace.

Other socializing forces are festivals, occasional convivial gatherings, patriotic celebrations, and games. All of these are useful to develop community spirit, and may make for a better neighborhood.

9. Secondary Groups.—Practically every member of society, besides belonging to a primary group like the family, will be a member of one or several secondary or intermediate groups. Membership in many of these groups confers educational or cultural advantages, or social and economic benefits.

Labor unions, for instance, have been the means of securing for wage-earners many concessions which as individuals they would not have gained. In other words, through such unions labor has become "articulate." These unions have also developed plans for "workers' education," both in Europe and in America. At Oxford there is a Catholic labor college. The movement, if well guided, can only be productive of much good. In these associations one of the good social effects of group activity is illustrated. In the years 1920 to 1922 labor colleges were established in ten industrial centers, from Boston to Seattle.

In 1923 a Unionist summer school was organized through the generosity of Sir Philip Scott, who placed his mansion and estate of Onestone Park, near Northampton, England, at the disposal of the Unionist Party. The aim of this benefactor and of the Unionist Labor Committee was to furnish instruction and to equip the trade unionist or cooperator, on the one hand, to take an active and effective interest in the affairs of his or her society and, on the other, to help the parliamentarian or the business man to discharge with greater knowledge and insight such duties of citizenship as might devolve upon him.

10. Workers' Education in the United States.—Again, in 1925, the annual budget of the Workers' Education Bureau of America, assured by the pledges of forty-one labor unions, levied a tax of one-half cent per member to complete a fifty-thousand dollar budget. As a result of this action, the bureau launched a nationwide educational campaign among working men and women, organized study classes, arranged lecture courses and extended the general work of the bureau—all under the supervision of the American Federation of Labor. The Workers' Bookshelf, which already included some twenty-five labor volumes, and the pamphlet series of the bureau were enlarged.

Eighteen industries were represented by the students of Brookwood Labor College which opened at Katonah, New York, on October 18, 1926, for its sixth year. Painters, garment workers, miners, upholstery weavers, hosiery knitters, railway carmen, stenogra-

phers, bakers, tailors, machinists, electricians, cap makers, carpenters, clerks, plumbers, and taxi drivers were included

"The Brookwood students represent a cross-section of the labor movement geographically as well as industrially," said A J Muste, chairman of the faculty "They come from California and Oregon, from Wyoming and Colorado, Delaware and Maryland, Illinois and Minnesota, Kentucky and Texas, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, and New York There is even one from England and another from Canada "

Brookwood offers one- and two-year courses to trade-union workers and others interested in organized labor and farmer movements The course of study includes economics, labor history, English, psychology, trade-union organization, public speaking, and a study of the basic industries Many of the students come on scholarships from their local or international unions, though some come at their own expense

These facts on the educational work of labor unions have been dwelt on because they are in harmony with Christian ethics, which teaches that every man has the right to be educated He has the right to education, not only in religion, but also in secular knowledge, the right to training in the craft, skill, and duties of some occupation, without which self-support is very difficult Moreover, the Church endorses other attempts of organized labor to secure a living wage, to limit the hours of labor,¹ to restrict work of women and children, etc In other words, the Church supports every attempt of the union to safeguard the right to self-culture, as is shown in many declarations of leading Churchmen during the last twenty-five years

11. Other Secondary Groups. — There are other groups intermediate between the family and the largest group — the nation, — but it is not necessary to describe their objectives in detail Farm organizations can do for the farm worker what the union does for the city wage earner One of the earliest associations of farmers in the United States was the Grange, formed in 1867, for the promotion of the interests of agriculture It started out as a lodge of the order of "Patrons of Husbandry," a secret society But now its objects are to remove the restraints and burdens imposed on agriculture by the commercial classes and to eliminate the "middle-man," who comes as a profiteer between producer and consumer The McNary-Haugen Farm-Relief Bill, recently (1927) before

Congress, was a genuine attempt to assist American agriculture, and is an example of what concerted action of our farming people may attempt

Professional associations, women's clubs, scientific and literary societies, church organizations, etc., are now so numerous that it is scarcely possible to tell of their fine social, cultural, and philanthropic work in a brief chapter

12. The Knights of Columbus. — One organization, however, deserves special mention here, both on account of the truly international scope of its constructive work in religious, educational, charitable, and patriotic work, and because its purposes and methods have sometimes been misunderstood. With princely generosity, and without limitation to creed, color, or social station, this order of true American men and citizens organized its resources on a colossal scale during the World War and helped those "over there" during that trying period of our national life. But this was only one, though perhaps its most striking achievement, in national and patriotic service. One of its purposes being to uphold the Constitution of the United States and to combat revolutionary doctrines aiming at the overthrow of government, it has helped to oppose such subversive attempts wherever they manifested themselves in our country. Against all forms of bigotry and religious prejudice, it has fought with the weapons of education, enlightenment, and the good example of the men of the order. It has been and is a constructive force in America today, a striking illustration of what is spoken of in this chapter as group achievement

13. Social Control. — How does society regulate such groups as those referred to, and how does it bring about likemindedness in the individual, and hold him to desirable group standards? It needs some device to achieve this, for the orderly movement of society cannot be left to accidental factors. There are, of course, centripetal forces urging men to unite and pool their resources, for man is a social being. But many individuals are stubborn and will not submit to the folkways or "act as others do." Then the various forms of "social control" are brought into action. Social control is a device for socializing the members of a group. It is the complex of processes or agencies by which groups adjust new individuals to standards of conduct or courses of action believed to be for the general good. These processes may also be looked upon as mechanisms by which a community functions in orderly manner and

secures a certain measure of welfare for all its members. Some of these controls are law, public opinion, education, the Church, tradition, custom, ceremonial, political beliefs, etc. Some of the most effective social controls are embodied in institutions like the Church, the family, the school, and the courts.

14. Religion the Most Universal and Most Beneficent Form of Social Control. — Despite all the onslaughts upon religion, especially during the last half-century, religion is still the sanest and most widely beneficial form of social control. Hard words have often been written about "priestcraft" and "clerical domination" when there is discussion about the Church as an agency of social control. But there is no need of calling up specters long since laid to rest.

Let us look to the inspiring work of the Church at the present time. This is more in keeping with our subject. Who can deny that the Church, by her intelligent, inspiring, and consistent teaching — fully as consistent as the best established results of modern science — has been a wonderfully efficient and uplifting force unto millions on the path of everyday duty and of social service? She has been, and still is, the undying source whence millions of the most intelligent persons from every land draw hope and courage for fighting bravely the battles of life and for persevering in well-doing to its end.

15. Other Means of Control. — Law and its changing codes are very much inferior to the spiritual teachings of the Church as a means of social control. For the sanctions of the law are nearly always penalties, and not rewards. Nor do these sanctions always appeal like religion to higher motives, to man's rational nature, and to the dignity of the human personality. Religion always respects the latter. The law controls by capital punishment, fines, imprisonment, exile, deprivation of civic rights, etc. The great force of religion is the law of charity — love of God and one's neighbor. The appeals to fear and awe are only an outflow of the reverence due to God and are secondary to the first great commandment — the love of God.

Public opinion, social suggestion, æsthetic appeals, personal ideals, and even slogans have been used to make men think along certain lines.

Professor Lumley has written an interesting paper on "Slogans

as a Means of Social Control " ¹ from which we quote the following paragraphs

" The history of education is liberally besprinkled with slogans betokening the influence of the propagandists Few of us are unacquainted with 'education according to nature,' 'social efficiency,' and 'the project method'

" The numerous campaign drives for money to support various worthy enterprises have flung showers of watchwords about our ears and before our eyes The Red Cross challenges respect and support by declaring itself 'the greatest mother in the world' The Y M C A has insisted and demanded that 'the Y stands for you, you stand for the Y'

" And every party revolt within any larger whole has been unified and spurred on by some unforgettable slogan The restless poor foregather to the strain of 'unreasonable profits,' 'A fair day's wage,' 'the emancipation of labor,' while the contented rich patriotically cry back, 'America for the Americans,' 'law and order,' and others

" Labor unions, fashionable social sets, political parties and college fraternities all have their devices for adjusting new persons to the group and holding former members to their obligations What the primitive savage achieved by cruel 'initiation rites' the modern freshman or sophomore accomplishes by 'hazing' "

16. Education as an Agency of Social Control. — But after all, if we look to the future well-being of our land, and if we have in view the best road to social progress, we will fix on education as a most practical form of social control For in the schools are trained the citizens of tomorrow We can hardly expect the youth of today to rise very superior to the ideals of yesterday, unless our school programs and scholastic training are improved, and our efforts are directed toward preserving what is best in Christian civilization and toward adapting it to meet the conditions of a new era

In all recent writings on the new tasks that confront our schools the emphasis is laid on socialization It seems to be *the* process which is to save us from anarchy and social disaster "Education," says Charlotte Perkins Gilman, "is a social process *par excellence*, it may be called *the* social process" ² Professor Todd says that "social education aims to create social solidarity by

¹ *Publications of the American Sociological Society*, Vol XVI, December, 1921, pp 121-131

² *The Public A Journal of Democracy*, April 5, 1919, p 348

means of a social type marked by service rather than exploitation"¹ Finally, in an article entitled "A Completely Socialized School,"² Professor Robert A. Cummins mentions as the four requisites of such an institution the socialized school board, the socialized teacher, the socialized curriculum, the socialized superintendent

17. But All Controls Mentioned in This Chapter Will Be Important.—Still for making sure that our youth will keep to the path of social righteousness, all the controls already discussed will be needed In his recent book *Probation and Delinquency*,³ Mr Edwin J. Cooley says "From the earliest childhood until adolescence and even during the prenatal life, there should be woven about the individual a network of helpful and constructive influences Science, the school, the home, the social organizations, the law, and the Church must find in the problem of crime prevention a serious challenge All too frequently, the blame for a delinquent career rests not on the individual so much as on society, which permitted the development of delinquent tendencies When we learn to look forward with the child instead of backward with the adult criminal, we will have made great strides in the prevention of crime"

But let us not be deceived by expecting too much from all these agencies They must be enforced by wholesome effort on the part of every individual to "keep down the base in man" Today, in general, Americans have a higher standard of living, eat more wholesome food, are freed from a larger number of menial tasks, and enjoy larger facilities for education and enjoyment than those of four or five decades ago But, on the other hand, spiritual impoverishment has accompanied the rapid advance of the last half-century Scientific appliances can help us to travel faster, to get the news of the world more quickly, they will bring to our doors new conveniences and comforts, but they cannot impart that spiritual poise and that state of mind and heart which are a help for the rational enjoyment of creature comforts, and are absolutely demanded to face bravely the inevitable trials and sorrows of life More self-discipline and a greater degree of detachment from

¹ *Theories of Social Progress*, p. 522

² *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. XXVI, September 2, 1920

³ *Probation and Delinquency, The Study and Treatment of the Individual Delinquent*, 447 Madison Avenue, New York City

the multitudinous and exacting demands of what we call "society," and less slavish dependence on the comforts of an industrial age, would bring a bit more happiness to many a troubled heart. But we need not end with a note of pessimism. As we see America at work and note the expanding programs of societies devoted to social service and social progress, as we realize that many are turning for guidance to Him who is the Light of all times, we see new hope dawning for Columbia and an open gateway to peace and social progress.¹

TOPICS FOR DISCUSSION

- 1 Define social mind. Is it something apart from individual minds?
- 2 What is likemindedness?
- 3 In what way were the mediæval guilds benefited by this social factor?
- 4 Does likemindedness lessen the amount of crime in a community?
- 5 Explain race riots and strikes as types of group behavior.
- 6 What is the derivation of "mob"?
- 7 What is the psychologic crowd?
- 8 Did likemindedness exist in primitive society?
- 9 Do the "initiations" practiced by lodges resemble initiatory rites in primitive society?
- 10 What are primary groups?
- 11 Have economic changes affected the stability of the family? How?
- 12 What is the play or recreation group?
- 13 Are playgrounds a useful social investment? Why?
- 14 Cite some illustrations of the social value of playgrounds.
- 15 In what sense is the community or neighborhood a primary group?
- 16 Give examples of secondary groups.
- 17 Have labor unions secured advantages for their members? Give some examples.
- 18 Why may the attempts at "workers' education" be studied under "group activity"?
- 19 Give some examples of what the unions are doing for workers' education.
- 20 Have farmers established any groups for promoting their interests?
- 21 Why do the group activities of the Knights of Columbus deserve mention in the present chapter?
- 22 Define social control.
- 23 What do you think of religion as a type of social control?
- 24 How is law a form of control?
- 25 Do customs and precedents exercise control over individuals?
- 26 Mention some other kinds of social control and show how they produce their effect.
- 27 Are slogans a form of control? Give examples.

¹ A further development of the subject of this chapter will be found in Part VI, Chapter III.

- 28 In what way is education a chief agency of social control?
- 29 What is meant by the socialization of the school?
- 30 Must all the various modes of control be supplemented by individual good will and cooperation in order to be effective? Why?
- 31 Have we reason to hope that the combined efforts of church, school, and society will advance social peace and progress?

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CHAPTER IV

THE MODERN FAMILY

In his interesting book *Social Origins*, Andrew Lang says "The family is the most ancient and the most sacred of human institutions, the least likely to be overthrown by revolutionary attacks" Much water has flowed under the bridge since the above statement was written in 1893, for almost every book of sociology nowadays refers to "the disruptive factors of the modern family," to its changing status or to its actual disintegration Hence some of the "revolutionary attacks" directed against it have become effective These disruptive factors affecting home and family are many and have been variously classified under the doctrine of neo-Malthusianism, lax marriage and divorce laws, woman's growing economic freedom, the break-up of home life, the rise of individualism, the upward extension of education, and the seeking of amusement outside the home

Besides these disintegrating factors influencing the modern family, others may be mentioned For the present we may accept those cited as accounting for a large number of shattered families and broken homes

Conditions in Europe, as regards disintegration of home and family life, are about the same as those in our country Long before the Great War, French writers spoke of *les maux dont meurt la Famille*, evils bringing on the death of the family M Etienne Lamy of the French Academy has written a preface to a book entitled *The Plot against the Family*,¹ in which he says "In our time, rich in imaginary plots, you denounce as the most threatening the plot against the family, the source on which depends the continuity of species, the first school of the living being, the group with which society begins The family is the most essential of human institutions Nothing is in jeopardy as long as it remains intact, everything is in danger as soon as it decays As the same race, which no longer renews itself in France, is multiplying

¹ Noblemaire, Georges, *Le Complot contre la Famille*, Paris, 1908

in Canada, its sterility is not organic but voluntary. This race has been fruitful in France as long as morals and laws united to fortify those social groups which protected the individual."

The learned academician refers to that plague which has caused all Frenchmen who truly love their country to be fearful of its future. If there be no increase in population, who will in future years keep alive the culture and traditions of the nation? A race that does not obey the moral law as regards its duty to provide future citizens is a race that will be swept away by a stronger people.

1. Theory of Malthus Not Proved.—French sociologists have tried to combat what they aptly call the *mal des foyers*, the evil attacking homes. For to oppose or restrict the coming of children into the world by unlawful means is a blow both at the sanctity and the stability of the home. The doctrines of neo-Malthusianism which advocate the policy of voluntary birth restriction by means which Christian morality declares unlawful are not a factor for strengthening and uplifting, but for weakening and debasing the family. Nor is it true that neo-Malthusianism (birth control) will help to save families from falling into poverty. Indeed some of our closest students of social conditions agree that the Malthusian doctrine ought to be rejected from both the moral and the economic standpoint, for the use of the vicious and immoral means taught by the Malthusians cannot be condoned. From the latter point of view, it must be borne in mind that the statement of Malthus "Population tends to increase in a geometric progression whilst the means of subsistence can only increase in an arithmetic progression" is not true. It is false to say that production has not kept pace with population. What was true in the days of Malthus does not necessarily hold for the economic life of today. We have developed intensive farming, we have new and improved machinery. What were formerly waste products have now an economic utility, new countries and new sources of food supply have been acquired, and a more rapid distribution of commodities has been effected.

Moreover, if we compare the abstract tendency of the human race to increase beyond the means of subsistence with the increase of the means of subsistence, the greater increase will be found on the side of the means of subsistence, for it is impossible to show that natural productive forces have already reached their maxi-

mum While the increase of population is checked by accidents, death, disease, and natural calamities, there has been a steady development of means of food supply

At most the law of diminishing returns may be called in proof of gradually decreasing means of subsistence But experts tell us that new inventions in machinery will help meet the problem and that its full solution may be left to the wisdom of distant generations

We have ample means to combat the evils of the present economic and industrial order The causes of these evils are not overpopulation and inadequate production But there is too great a difference in the distribution of wealth, while faulty methods regulate that distribution There is also too much sordid greed and selfishness in all classes of society Hence there must be a spiritual awakening The realization that man has other and higher interests than those of an economic nature and that Christian charity and justice must become two cornerstones of the new social order will become the means of the spiritual awakening that can lead to social peace

Instead of fierce competition in the production and sale of commodities, let there be economic cooperation Economic or democratic cooperation which has been successfully tested in various industries means sharing of control and management and the distribution of rewards in accordance with the value of the several contributions of the cooperators "This can be done," says Mr Glenn Plumb, "in producers' or consumers' cooperatives as effectively as in any basic or other industry organized and conducted in the corporate form"

An industry based upon economic cooperation will fully satisfy its sole function of supplying economic wants "For," says Mr Plumb, "it has truly been said that a single fact that cannot be reconciled with a particular theory is sufficient to overthrow that theory A single fact — the fact of 'overproduction' defeats and disapproves all the theories of economic pessimists from Malthus to our own time" We have already referred to imperfect methods of the distribution of wealth This causes the overproduction to which Mr Plumb refers as an economic evil, inasmuch as "the recent period of industrial depression was due to the inability of the people to buy all that by their labor they could produce"

Moreover, if wise measures be passed — for instance, laws in

favor of applying labor and capital to agricultural rather than to manufacturing interests — if monopolies in raw materials and in the necessities of life be restrained, if the making of commodities that minister rather to luxury than to wants be curtailed, if large landed estates now kept only for private pleasure be abolished, there will be little need of Malthusian doctrine, preaching, and practice

2. Dr. Sutherland on Theory of Malthus. — Finally, it will be in place to cite the words of an English medical authority on the evils of a doctrine which is being strenuously propagated. "Both the supporters and the opponents of Malthus are often mistaken in considering his greatest achievements to be a policy of birth control. Malthus did a greater and a more evil thing. He forged a law of nature — namely, that there is always a limited and insufficient supply of the necessities of life in the world. From this false law he argued that, as population increases too rapidly, the newcomers cannot hope to find a sufficiency of good things, that the poverty of the masses is not due to conditions created by man, but to a natural law, and that consequently this law cannot be altered by any change in political institutions. This new doctrine was eagerly adopted by the rich, who were thus enabled to argue that nature intended that the masses should find no room at her feast and that therefore our system of industrial capitalism was in harmony with the will of God. Most comforting dogma! Most excellent anodyne for conscience against acceptance of those rights of man that, being ignored, found terrible expression in the French Revolution! Without discussion, without investigation, and without proof, our professors, politicians, leader-writers, and even our well-meaning socialists, have accepted as true the bare falsehood that there is always an insufficient supply of the necessities of life, and today this heresy permeates all our practical politics. In giving this forged law of nature to the rich, Malthus robbed the poor of hope. Such was his crime against humanity."¹

Dr. Sutherland quotes in turn the opinion of a noted English woman physician, the late Dr. Elizabeth Blackwell. "A doctrine more diabolical in its theory and more destructive in its practical consequences," she says, "has never been invented. This is the doctrine of neo-Malthusianism."²

¹ Sutherland, H. G., M.D., *Birth Control*, p. 72

² *Ibid.*, p. 100

3. Divorce. — The evil influence of voluntary family restriction cannot be measured by statistics as can that of another factor destructive of family life — divorce

"There are more divorces granted in this country than in all the rest of the world put together" The writer who makes this statement makes another in the same paragraph to the effect that "the conditions are not all bad, for often a divorce is a good thing in that it may be a relief of a worse condition" And anon we read "The fact that we have such a thing as divorce is not the alarming feature, it is rather in the great increase of divorce in the United States"

This attitude towards the divorce problem is characteristic of many sociologists They realize that it is unwise to plead for greater facility in sundering the marriage bond, and yet they look upon divorce as an agency of greater social peace and progress That in instances there result increased peace and happiness for the individual or individuals concerned, no one will deny But we are considering the wider and more far-reaching effects of increasing instability of marriage, we are looking upon divorce as a vital social problem

4. Dangers of Rejection of Ethical Principles. — One reason for the lax attitude of sociologists toward divorce and for the many attempts to encourage it still more is found in their abhorrence of "theologic argument" They think that in the present question this argument is out of date A writer frankly admits "We are quite aware of the consistent opposition of certain religious groups and many sincere individuals to the granting of divorce under any circumstances But we are not talking in terms of abstract right and wrong or of theology We are concerned with objectively observable changes in human personality as the result of changes in social arrangements such as divorce"¹

In other words, ethical principles of right and wrong are to be set aside for the more urgent claim of changes in human personality

To this lax and unsound attitude toward divorce we oppose the only true and consistent ethical doctrine, according to which unity and indissolubility are the two chief properties of marriage By virtue of the latter characteristic the marriage contract is of such a nature that, once entered upon, it continues in force until the death of one of the contracting parties The pastoral letter of the arch-

¹ Queen and Mann, *Social Pathology*, p 67

bishops and bishops of the country states an opinion on the divorce evil which is shared by thousands of thinking men in every community.

"We consider the growth of the divorce evil an evidence of moral decay and a present danger to the best elements in our American life. In its causes and their revelation by process of law, in its results for those who are immediately concerned and its suggestion to the minds of the entire community, divorce is our national scandal. It not only disrupts the home of the separated parties but it also leads others who are not yet married to look upon the bond as a trivial circumstance. Thus through the ease and frequency with which it is granted, divorce increases with an evil momentum until it passes the limits of decency and reduces the sexual relation to the level of animal instinct."

5. Degradation of Marriage. — "This degradation of marriage, once considered the holiest of human relations, naturally tends to the injury of other things whose efficacy ought to be secured, not by coercion, but by the freely given respect of a free people. Public authority, individual rights, and even the institutions on which liberty depends, must inevitably weaken. Hence the importance of measures and movements which aim at checking the spread of divorce. It is to be hoped that they will succeed, but an effectual remedy cannot be found or applied, unless we aim at purity in all matters of sex, restore the dignity of marriage, and emphasize its obligations."¹

A Catholic sociologist has given the following as one of the best arguments against divorce from the standpoint of pure reason: "Allow divorce (with the privilege of remarriage) in one case, and the floodgates are opened. There is no way for unaided human reason to distinguish between the enormity of one crime and that of another as grounds for legal declaration of nullity. It may be argued in reply that all human laws draw such distinctions, that there are sentences of capital punishment and sentences of a nominal fine. But in the matter of divorce all these vanish. The motives on the part of those seeking relief from matrimonial ties are too subjective to allow of such distinctions, obvious enough in other matters."

6. The State and Divorce. — It is rather inconsistent to say, as

¹ Pastoral letter of the Archbishops and Bishops of the United States, 1920

some sociologists do, that the State has full rights over the standards of family welfare and yet maintain that the State should tolerate divorce as a means conducive to family welfare, because divorce too often lowers and strikes a serious blow at "those educational and moral standards" of the home which the State should maintain, and because in thousands of divorce cases children are involved. And who will deny that the separation of parents is injurious to the rearing and education of the offspring?

Neither science nor reason can remedy the evils born of the ceaseless grinding of the divorce mills. The former speaks with the faltering accent of human authority, the latter does not provide the severe sanctions sometimes needed to beat down the lure of sense. An appeal to the shifting standards of social convention to combat the worst effects of increasing divorce is doomed to failure. Only a loyal acceptance of the true Christian doctrine concerning marriage as both a contract and a sacrament will save society from the woeful social effects of disregarding the sanctity of the marriage bond and of marriage vows.

7 Efficacy of the Church's Teachings. — Reason and experience teach us that the only salvation lies in the acceptance of the sound ethical doctrine defended by the Church. Many Christian denominations are recognizing the need of more stringent legislation to stem the divorce evil. Again, thinking men are challenging the reasons generally given for legitimizing divorce and are pointing out the risk society runs by failing to check the disorder. M. Fonsegrive, a French sociologist, says "To reduce marriage to a matter of sense attraction and to assert the right of free union (*union libre*) is to destroy the family, to authorize the worst moral disorders."

As in our researches we have not been guided by any dogma nor preconceived opinion, but have followed only the facts of experience and of reason, it seems to us very proper to conclude that the doctrines of the Church at which we have arrived are based upon a solid and rational foundation."

Nor is it right to speak harshly of "ecclesiastical control" of marriage, or of "new ethical standards" which are developing, for the Church merely holds that civil society cannot legitimately usurp control over matrimony, which is a sacrament instituted by Christ. Nor can any "new ethical code" justify an act which is wrong.

Professor Lichtenberger rightly says that "the forces tending to

counteract divorce are among the most efficient elements of social control." In opposing the "divorce evil" the Church is therefore exercising a most beneficent form of social endeavor for the nation and is not trying to hold individuals to an "outworn code of ethics."

We realize, of course, that there are certain social forces working themselves out in the development of society and that these were bound to have a disintegrating effect upon the family. Such causes are changing standards of living, pressure of new economic forces upon the home, the lessened economic functions of the latter, new avenues of self-support opened to women, the entrance of women into the professions and their consequent economic emancipation, the growth of industrialism, the popularization of law, the spread of social discontent and the general restlessness so characteristic of our age, and finally, the inconsistency, as Professor Fairchild says, "between the economic and marriage family mores." While the former have been forced to adjust themselves to the rapid changes in industry, family conventions have remained more or less intact.

These changes were inevitable, and there is no need to deplore them. But unfortunately they were accompanied by a "spirit of independence," and the consequent decay of respect for authority. Here we touch upon one of the "radical causes" why the rate of divorce is more rapid in the United States than in any other country except Japan.

8. The Rise of Individualism.—Professor Peters¹ thinks that the pronounced tendencies toward the disruption of the family "began with the individualism and freedom of thought of the Protestant Reformation." Perhaps so. But the fact is that ever since that momentous crisis in history there has been a drifting away of family life from its former moorings and from those high ideals that once clung about the Christian hearth and home.

9. Abolish Divorce.—The divorce question gives concern to students of society in other countries. Concluding an earnest appeal of his countrymen to hold fast to the ancient Christian law regarding divorce, Rev. John J. O'Gorman, D. C. L., of Canada, says "The law against divorce was repromulgated by Christ, not as a new law but as a primeval law given in the infancy of the race. The command, 'What therefore God hath joined together let not man put asunder,' is at once a law given by the Divine Founder of Christianity and a law given by the Divine Creator of nature. It

¹ *Foundations of Educational Sociology*, p. 169

is a law which applies to Christians, Jews, and pagans, to lawyers and newspaper editors, to voters and legislators. It is a natural law observed by some of the most barbarous tribes in the history of mankind. Are we Canadians to have our moral sense so blunted, our moral vision so blurred, our moral decision so weakened, that we must have divorce, when the savages of the Andaman Islands, the aborigines of Ceylon, the Papuans of New Guinea, and other races just as barbarous, never tolerated it? In the name of God, let us unite to abolish divorce."

And these are timely reflections for our own people.¹

TOPICS FOR DISCUSSION

- 1 What is meant by "disintegrating forces" of the family?
- 2 Is France today suffering from the evil of neo-Malthusian principles concerning the family?
- 3 What is the theory of T. R. Malthus, and what is neo-Malthusianism?
- 4 State your objections against this doctrine. (See *Birth Control* by H. G. Sutherland, M.D.)
- 5 What measures may be adopted to safeguard the welfare of an increasing population?
- 6 What are some of the main causes of frequency of divorce in the United States?
- 7 State the Catholic attitude toward marriage and divorce.
- 8 To what extent is decay of religious faith and disrespect for law and legitimate authority a cause of divorce?
- 9 Write a paper on the ideal Christian family.
- 10 What are some of the remedies to bring back the Christian family to the high ideals that once governed it?
- 11 What is meant by the decay of home life?
- 12 What changes in the family have followed changes in economic conditions?
- 13 In what respect was family life changed when industry came to be carried on outside the home?
- 14 What is meant by the Industrial Revolution?
- 15 Has the employment of women had a marked influence on home life? On the rate of divorce?
- 16 Does the monogamous family exist among so-called primitive races?

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¹ A further development of subject treated in this chapter will be found in Part VI, Chapter I.

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CHAPTER V

THE STATE

The various forms of social organization which sufficed to regulate the community activities of uncivilized man could not control his group life, when he began to associate with his fellows in ever-expanding numbers and to develop what we call civilization. Hence, far back in the gray morn of antiquity, we find huge empires like those of Assyria and Persia and the kingdoms of ancient India. In other words, we find an association of numerous families for the protection of individual rights and the advancement of the good of all, or an organized group having for its purpose the regulation of relationship affecting vitally the welfare of all its members. This politically organized group, occupying a specific territory, is usually known as a "State."

1. Different Opinions on Nature of the State. — There are most diverse appreciations of the value of the State, especially of State authority. Hegel asserts that the State is God Himself. Schelling maintains that it is the complete and absolute end exercising a supreme right over all individuals. On the other hand, radical socialists like Karl Marx and Engels call for the abolition of all State authority, though they are not in accord as to the means for achieving this purpose.

In view of these widely discordant opinions, we must first of all come to a clear understanding of the functions of the State. Civil society springs from man's nature. This nature impels man to seek happiness and to avoid pain and evil. He is urged to seek that condition of life in which he can best secure his spiritual and material interests and work at his physical, intellectual, and moral perfection.

Now to obtain these desirable ends men seek the aid of other men and work with united effort to secure that measure of temporal welfare which is necessary for progress in any and every line.

The family alone can scarcely supply these needs and secure this degree of material welfare for its members. Many and permanent dangers and obstacles on the part of nature, of the brute cre-

ation, and even of other men, would make this task almost impossible for the few members of a family. Here, then, we have the basis of the need of social organization and of the State.

Nor can the family supply all that man may expect of others in consequence of his social nature. Peace and prosperity, civilization and progress, point to the necessity of the wider family — the civic unit. The State is no less a demand of man's social nature than the family. Comparing the purpose of the State with that of the family, we behold that in opposition to the parental society the State is of permanent usefulness. Born into civic society, man stands in need of its protection and cooperation to the end of his life.

Again, while civil society stands in greater need of authority than the family, where bonds of relationship bind the members together in strong affection, this authority also differs radically from parental authority. The latter is subject to change with the development of the child and seeks the double advantage of the governing and the governed. Civil authority is representative, immutable, and permanent. Its purpose is the harmonious cooperation of the many coordinated families, the well-being of all the subjects.

2. Forms of Civil Society. — By its very nature the family points to a certain form of organization and authority. Remembering that civil society is demanded by man's human nature and that in consequence it has a well-defined purpose which in turn demands authority, it follows that this authority is measured by the purpose and that, the purpose being the same in all civil societies, the authority must likewise be essentially the same. The authority may be centered in the autocrat or in the various sections of republican authority. Barring abuse, the one has neither more nor less authority than the other.

The form of government determines the distribution of authority, not its scope or extent. In terms of authority, the form is accidental rather than essential. That the authority must be the same in all civil societies becomes still more evident when we consider that, if a certain authority is sufficient to materialize the purpose of civil society, less authority will be insufficient, and in consequence must be out of harmony with the demands of human nature, and, again, greater authority is superfluous, and denies the auxiliary nature of the State. In the light of this truth, we can readily see that it is not the form of government but the denial of the natural law and

the subsequent denial of an essentially equal, well-defined, and well-limited authority for every civil society which has produced the many abuses — at times excessive and oppressive, at times defective and partial to the economically stronger class, — and which thereby has led to the many social evils, from class opposition to direct revolt against the authorities

3. Nations Free to Choose Form of Government. — But what about the possibility of abuse and its remedy? Is it not much easier to remedy or even to prevent abuse in a democratic country? No doubt, democracy is relatively free from certain abuses and evils, but monarchy is also free from certain evils which are very prevalent in a republic. It seems, therefore, to depend on the national character, which may be more prone to the one kind of evils and excesses than to the other, whether the one form of government is better suited for this nation or the other. We can hardly convince ourselves that all countries should have the same form of government. It seems but reasonable that every nation, knowing itself best, should be free in the choice of its own form of government. This does not prevent other nations from demanding of a government that it should not abuse its authority, or from demanding of the people of such a country sufficient guaranties against future abuse. In extreme cases, this may lead to the deposition of rulers or to the overthrow of government, but usually modifications and restrictions are sufficient. Democracies are changed into constitutional republics, autocracies into constitutional monarchies, and step by step the two extremes approach each other more and more, until at last names like king or president mark the only difference.

4. Right of Deposition. — The right of deposition was not foreign to mediæval thought. Scholastic philosophy has always upheld this right, however far the various schools were apart on the question of the origin of civil authority. Those who held that all authority comes through the people (no one held that it came from the people, and justly so, for all authority comes from God), and also those that denied it, believed that authority was connected with a function and duty and that it lasted only so long as this duty and function was complied with. Consequently, they had to hold that authority can be lost. If, then, a ruler no longer lives up to his duty, the people have a right to look for some one else who will use authority within the proper limits. But while both schools have held that occasions may arise where the people are justified in

choosing another ruler or another form of government, neither school dared to assert that the people can do so at will or without reason. This doctrine proclaims protection against tyranny, and it excludes the danger of ambitious propaganda.

5. Popular Belief and Authority. — Unfortunately, the strife waged in our times over the best form of government has greatly obscured the above-mentioned fundamental principles. Popular belief has gradually connected with the various forms of government a difference in the extent or limitation of authority. Thus, liberal teaching, which always denied the existence of natural laws, and which in consequence made the extent of authority dependent on the free will of the people or the ruler, found willing listeners and supporters. To the vast majority, the constitution is not only the charter of the form of government but also of authority itself and of its extent. They never consider that thereby the very purpose of authority may be frustrated, or that authority may be exaggerated into tyranny. Nor do they reflect that thus a possibility is offered of granting to man a power which might be in direct opposition to the intentions and wise purposes of the Almighty. In its last analysis this doctrine is born of liberalism and materialism, it expresses the sentiment of a selfish generation and denies the stewardship of authority.

6. The State a Natural Institution. — The State is a natural institution. Professor Dardano¹ says "Formed as a consequence of human requirements, the State can have no other end but to satisfy them — to satisfy them in due relation to the last end of man, to satisfy them by making account of an active autonomy in individuals, to satisfy them in the measure dictated by equity and by the possibility of human things."

Nor should the reference to "the last end of man" cause any uncertainty as to the true nature of the State. Since no created object can make man perfectly happy, it follows that only the Creator can do so. But the State is not concerned with man's supernatural end. To help man attain his higher destiny, God established the Church and furnished it with the means which men need to reach this destiny.

Again there is no need, and there is not even any danger, that the two societies will work at cross purposes if each is mindful of its main duty. Civil society or the State is to help man in the pursuit

¹ *The Elements of Social Science*, p. 54

of temporal well-being It has been invested with power and authority by the Creator to undertake for man these good offices But the Church is, like the State, an independent society, intended to preserve certain spiritual verities, and founded by Christ for the one purpose to enable all men to gain the supreme end of their existence, that is, complete happiness in the future life But the Church, being the teacher of right conduct and defending the soundest and safest means of social control, often aids the State in the carrying out of its particular functions

Carroll D Wright says that "the great influence of churches on society at large, and even upon the legislation of the country, must be recognized While the federal Constitution and most of the state constitutions do not recognize any church organization, or even the existence of God, they are, nevertheless, framed on the basis of a Christian government, in fact, a constitutional state must be a Christian state, and while there is a great variety of denominational orders and many phases of theological belief, the people as a whole are ready to cooperate on the great essential features of a religious life, and this cooperation is reflected in a marked degree in the constitutions and laws of the country" ¹

This good influence of the Church on society is to some degree due to the fact that the Church favors no particular form of political *régime* or government but asserts that the power of the State is from God, in whatever particular form — monarchy or democracy — that power be lodged As Charles Devas says, "The Church by her own declaration is indifferent to forms of government, but she is a coefficient in producing the character of men, and profoundly interested in the product And this being so, we can repeat the ancient words of St Augustine 'Let those who say that the doctrine of Christ is adverse to the State . let them show us an army of soldiers such as the doctrine of Christ has commanded them to be, let them show us such governors of provinces, such husbands and wives, such parents and children, such masters and servants, such kings, such judges, as the Christian teaching would have them to be, nay, such contributors of all manners of taxes, and then let them have the face, if they can, to call this teaching injurious to the state' " ²

The Church is not only indifferent to forms of government and

¹ *Outline of Practical Sociology*, p 74

² *The Key to the World's Progress*, p 39

approves all alike in so far as they tend to the social welfare and progress of subjects, but she also makes little of national distinctions. In the very beginning of Christianity the "national question" indeed threatened to disfigure the concept which the pagan Roman world had formed of Christians, as "they who love one another." But then came Paul with his matchless message of freedom in Christ for all nations. Hence there was earnest effort on the part of the early Church to break down the barriers that separated Jew and Gentile, Greek and barbarian.

7. The Church International in Spirit. — In our own day the Catholic Church has continued the work for the welfare of nations on a truly international scale. She recognizes no difference between Slav and Celt, Saxon and Latin. In our own country successful efforts have been launched by her for the welfare of the Negro. Her freedom from national bonds has enabled her to escape the perils of State churches which have often succumbed to the evils of Erastianism or Cæsarism and have become the tools of ambitious rulers. Holding fast to her righteous claim to guide souls in things of God, in matters spiritual, the Church has discharged her important mission with immense and lasting advantage to the nations. "She has," says Mr. Devas, "upheld her great tradition of apostolic independence and freedom of speech, and has continued to give her message to the world and her testimony, whatever the consequence, in behalf of the moral and revealed law from the far distant days of Athanasius, of Chrysostom, or of Pope Martin against the emperors of the East."¹

8. Chesterton on the Church of the Ages. — Such is the verdict of history upon her spiritual activities. Even in the days of the great heresies, she swerved not from the path traced out for her by her Divine Founder. Considering the strength of the human element in the Church, that is, the fierce passions and vast ambitions of rulers who belonged to her fold, this steadfast loyalty to her high and holy trust is all the more noteworthy. Mr. G. K. Chesterton has described in vivid language the path of the Church through the turmoil and conflict of the early Christian centuries.

"This is the thrilling romance of orthodoxy. People have fallen into a foolish habit of speaking of orthodoxy as something heavy, humdrum, and safe. There never was anything so perilous or so exciting as orthodoxy. It was sanity, and to be sane is more dramatic than to be mad. It was the

¹ *Ibid*, p. 37

equilibrium of a man behind madly rushing horses, seeming to step this way and to sway that, yet in every attitude having the grace of statuary and the accuracy of arithmetic. The Church in its early days went fierce and fast with any warhorse, yet it is utterly unhistoric to say that she merely went mad along one idea, like a vulgar fanaticism. She swerved to left and right, so exactly as to avoid enormous obstacles. She left on one hand the huge bulk of Arianism, buttressed by all the worldly powers to make Christianity too worldly. The next instant she was swerving to avoid an orientalisms which would have made it too unworldly. The orthodox Church never took the tame course or accepted the conventions, the orthodox Church was never respectable. It would have been easier to have accepted the earthly power of the Calvinistic seventeenth century, to fall into the bottomless pit of predestination. It is easy to be a madman, it is easy to be a heretic. It is always easy to let the age have its head, the difficulty is to keep one's own. It is always easy to be a modernist, as it is easy to be a snob. To have fallen into any of those open traps of error and exaggeration which fashion after fashion and sect after sect set along the historic path of Christendom — that would indeed have been simple. It is always simple to fall, there are an infinity of angles at which one falls, only one at which one stands. To have fallen into any one of the fads from Gnosticism to Christian Science would indeed have been obvious and tame. But to have avoided them all has been one whirling adventure, and in my vision the heavenly chariot flies thundering through the ages, the dull heresies sprawling and prostrate, the wild truth reeling but erect." ¹

9. State Interference. — There have, of course, been instances in which unwise or imprudent ecclesiastical rulers have pursued policies which caused disturbance in the body politic and whose consequences were disastrous for both Church and State. But these mistakes never received the official sanction and approval of the universal Church. They were local in their origin and effects. More frequently the cause for complaint lay in the unjust interference of the secular power in matters ecclesiastic. On this point the writers on canon law have laid down clear and succinct regulations. The specific right of the State is to preserve peace and order in the community, to protect individual rights and to safeguard social peace and prosperity. But the Church is primarily concerned with the higher, spiritual interests of those living in the State. State interference with the Church's sole and legitimate sphere of activity is always fraught with evil. By State interference, we mean legisla-

¹ Chesterton, G. K., *Orthodoxy*, pp. 185-187

tion affecting action or conduct which is clearly outside the sphere of the general and political activity attributed to the State

We have seen encroachments of State authority in England under Henry VIII and his successors, in Germany under the régime of some of the rulers of the Reformed Church, in Austria under Joseph II, and in our own days in Mexico. Whatever justification there may have been initially for trespassing upon the spiritual domain of the Church did not continue to exist, and such interference proved, in the long run, disastrous to the respective nations

10. The State and Education. — Another kind of State intrusion is found in the domain of education. Of late this question has become acute. Inasmuch as one of the powers of the State is the promotion of the material prosperity of its members, and since education is a factor of such prosperity, the State should provide educational facilities. It should encourage primary, secondary, professional, and technical instruction. It grants charters to universities. But the State has no exclusive control in this matter. As education is the most important duty of parents toward their offspring, education of children belongs by rights to their parents. This right belongs to them primarily and essentially by the very fact that they are parents. Accidentally, of course, this right and duty may pass to others, as when the parents are dead, or if they are unfit to discharge their obligation.

For those who have a natural and indispensable duty to educate the young also have the natural right to fulfill that duty. But parents have such a duty. Hence they have the natural right to educate their children, that is, to give them, at least in their early years, the instruction which they think is needed for their physical, spiritual, and intellectual welfare.

Moreover, that parents have the right to a voice concerning the training of their children is plain from the fact that one of the objects of matrimony is "the education of new members of the family in a manner worthy of their rational nature." If in any scheme of education provided by the State one of the essentials needed for such education is wanting, the parents have a right to insist that it be supplied. If this duty were directly intrusted to others besides parents, there would be wanting the unity necessary for a good upbringing.

11. Principles of State Welfare. — Friction between rights and duties of State and Church on one hand and of State and the family

on the other would be avoided if the principles of State welfare were always observed. These principles are (1) The State must devote itself to its particular and well-defined sphere. (2) In its field of activity it must advance the common good. (3) The State must recognize that its individual members do not exist for its good, but that the State exists for and through its members. (4) The State must not place obstacles to minor societies which men freely enter for higher cultural or religious purposes.

12. Explanation of These Principles.—The first duty of the State is to protect the individual in the exercise of his rights. Often it is only the aid of the State that can help the individual to enjoy these rights. Thus the individual has a right to work and to be educated. It will be the duty of the State to promote, by wholesome social and industrial legislation, conditions that prevent unemployment and thus provide opportunities for those anxious to work. As regards education, it is often the State whose aid is required either to obtain a certain kind of education or to obtain it under conditions adapted to the needs of the individual.

It is especially for the weaker members of the community—for children and orphans, for the defectives and dependents—that this care should be exercised. For these four classes also have individual rights which must be respected. Thus, though the family has the duty of providing all that is necessary for the child's proper development, the State must sometimes help and encourage families in this duty. This is especially true as regards the right of the child to play and recreation, also its right to be safeguarded from neglect and exploitation.

The State, moreover, must safeguard the worker from danger connected with certain industries. It does this by laws regulating conditions of work in mines and factories, by laws regulating hours of labor and labor of women and children, by insisting on sanitary conditions in workshops, etc.

It must also apply by wise legislation and interpretation the general dicta of the natural law to individual cases that arise in our complex social relations. Thus it regulates the holding, transmission, and interchange of property.

Society, or government, also has the right to punish those who transgress its laws. It determines liability for debt or crime and safeguards contract rights between individuals.

13. The Common Good the Main Purpose of the State.—In

other words, the State is endowed with authority or power in order to provide for the public temporal prosperity of all its members. But this prosperity includes two elements — economic or material prosperity, and moral and intellectual welfare. These two factors produce true civilization and lead to true progress. The State, then, must exercise a wholesome influence upon both the economic and the moral order of society.

14. The State as an Agency of Social Control. — All this is evident from the fact that the State is an agency of social control. Social control is the complex of processes by which groups adjust new individuals or hold members to courses of action believed to be for the common good. The State therefore should not follow a *laissez-faire* policy as is demanded by the liberal school of political economy. It was this policy which caused so much economic misery to the working classes of England in the first three decades of the nineteenth century and to its women and child wage earners. It was clearly the duty of the State to interfere in industrial matters for the good of the untold thousands who suffered on account of vicious economic principles.

15. But Should Exert This Control Wisely. — On the other hand, the State should not become bureaucratic and paternalistic. Such a State was Prussia during the reign of Frederick the Great, 1740–1786. We have already referred to the interference of the State in the parents' right as regards education. The State has not the right to determine a child's education except in case of parental neglect or inability. But even then, government must discharge this duty with respect for the inalienable right of parents to educate their children.

One reason why all citizens should resist encroachments of the State upon individual rights is the danger of a gradual extension of State power to the detriment of liberty and wholesome initiative on the part of the progressive members of society. A writer in *The Nation*,¹ commenting on the extension of extracurricular activities in favor of the so-called "handicapped" children, says "Yet it seems certain that the generous motive which strives to bring the functions of the home to the homeless is tending to relieve parents of all sense of responsibility in the instruction of their children. The more the schools undertake, the more the parents shirk. The result is bound to be a leveling of minds and manners. However desirable

¹ Vol. CII, June 29, 1916, p. 691

may be the all-round attention given to children of the poor, this extreme democracy in education is sure to defeat itself unless the schools can count upon the cooperation of parents. At present the schools are, with the best intentions in the world, in much the same position as the clergyman who, when he might be interpreting Holy Writ, is telling his congregation how they should vote."

The State should not take away man's personality. During the Great War a frequent criticism was leveled at the German educational system that it impounded youth in state schools which glorified German ideals and that it was a "Prussianized system." Whatever truth may be in the charge, America will not countenance a system of schools or of government which forces the minds of its future citizens along the rigid, unbending standards laid down by an educational autocrat. We cherish freedom and shall pay the price to safeguard it — eternal vigilance and scrutiny of every measure proposed by so-called patriots and self-constituted prophets of social progress.

In Greek history we read of the helots, a class of serfs among the ancient Spartans, who were owned by the state. A desecration of the human personality by subjecting children to the arbitrary régime of training standardized by state experts, a further extension of governmental control to the minuter details of civic and social life would lead to a modern helotry and a condition in which those not occupying governmental positions would be "owned by the State." This would spell the end of liberty, of peace, and of social progress.

16. Individual Rights. — Every member of a State is a free, self-determining, personal being who is not entirely merged in the State. Becoming a citizen does not take away a person's humanity. He remains a man, and what is more, he has the right and privilege to live as a free personality. Even the subjects of a State are bound by a higher law, the law to aim at a goal beyond the confines of the State. The State cannot dispense them from the duty of rendering account of their every action to a higher power. Nothing gives the State the right to trespass upon the rights of freedom of conscience or to endanger the eternal welfare of subjects. The State must look to the peace and social well-being of the community but not trespass upon the spiritual rights and religious duties of any individual.

17. The Church Safeguards These Rights of Citizens. — In an-

swer to the many charges against the Church in Mexico the Catholic episcopate of the United States issued a pastoral letter on the religious situation in our neighboring republic. In the light of the Constitution of the United States the writers studied some of the fundamental principles of civil and religious liberty. In connection with the question touched on in the preceding paragraph the bishops said

"Unlimited power over the liberty of the citizen is not Christian teaching. It is not the teaching of the fathers of this republic. It is not the doctrine of our courts, which have again and again rejected it. To frame a constitution or to enact legislation which makes impossible man's enjoyment of his natural heritage of liberty, is not within the legitimate power of any civil government, no matter how constituted. For this heritage descends to him by the natural law which 'is coeval with mankind' and, since it 'is dictated by God Himself,' as Blackstone writes in his celebrated *Commentaries*, 'it is of course superior in obligation to any other. No human laws are of any validity if contrary to this, and such of them as are valid derive all their force and all their authority, mediately or immediately, from this original.' The legislator, opposing the dictates of this law, cannot prescribe a course which is reasonable, or which is profitable to the community, and since his act in no way reflects the wisdom of the natural law, which is the wisdom of the Eternal Lawgiver, it is not law, and can impose no obligations upon any citizen. It merits respect from no just man, and least of all from Americans whose theory of government it outrages. Thus it is seen that the wisdom of Christian teaching has not failed to impress itself on the minds of distinguished men whose studies and writings on law have won for them deserved eminence before their fellows. In this connection we recall words written in our Pastoral of 1919: 'The end for which the State exists, and for which authority is given it, determines the limit of its powers. It must respect and protect the divinely established rights of the individual and the family. It must safeguard the liberty of all, so that none shall encroach upon the rights of others. But it may not rightfully hinder the citizen in the discharge of his conscientious obligations and much less in the performance of duties he owes to God.'"

18. Why False Notions Rule in Statecraft. — During the last century there has been an ever-widening breach between practical politics and the principles of Christian ethics, much to the detriment of nations. This is the reason, too, why unjust principles of State absolutism, referred to in the preceding paragraph, could be used to deprive certain groups of their just rights.

Mgr Ignaz Seipel of Vienna referred to this subject in a speech

delivered in the first week of October 1926, at the sixth congress of the Union Catholique d'Études Internationales. He said that while the great thinkers of the Middle Ages had, like their predecessor St. Augustine, taken up the problems of the State and of the common welfare, there came a time when this study was neglected, and as a consequence, when absolutism came into power, there were few or none to oppose to the unjust and unethical oppression of rulers the iron principles of Christian ethics.

That there was a sad dearth of sound knowledge of the eternal principles of Christian right, duty, and obligation among the public leaders, diplomats, and statesmen who have been trying to solve the burning world questions begotten of the late war, is quite apparent. For few of their deliberations and resolutions have been accepted whole-heartedly, much less unanimously, by all parties concerned in the strife. Was there not the vitiating taint of "absolutism" in much of the statecraft of these public men? Wrong and misleading principles can only be combated by weighing public questions in the light of the adamant principles of Christian ethics.

19. The State Should Not Forbid Minor Societies Which Aim at Legitimate Purposes. — We may briefly dispose of this point inasmuch as it has already been indirectly touched upon in the foregoing paragraphs. Jealousy of minor organizations — be they political, cultural, religious, social, or scientific — on the part of the State, shows narrowness and illiberality. There are vital social interests which can be promoted only by such smaller organizations. Persons of similar dispositions and with like desires establish such secondary groups. The family, national societies, religious confraternities and sodalities, and educational associations are instances of organizations that can do much for the common good. A State that does not respect such unions belittles its own dignity. An interfering on the part of the State in these legitimate activities has always brought on evil results. In our own country we saw instances of unjust suppression of such minor and well-meaning groups during the excitement of war conditions. Whenever the State wants to be the sole rule and guide and measure and purpose of all activities, there is suspicion that all is not well in governmental gearing.

As regards religious matters in particular, it should be said that the supreme authority must safeguard public morality, but it cannot interfere in private conduct. For the morals and religion of an individual are a private concern and are not subject to the direct

power of the State. Moreover, the civil power is not charged with the duty of leading men immediately to the happiness of the future life.

20. A World State. — We have heard much since the year 1918 of a World Court and the League of Nations. We also know the many conflicting opinions that have been pronounced about both by diplomats and students of political science. This want of agreement on these two questions may lend support to the view of some of the mediæval philosophers that a universal state, sinking all differences of race, nation, language, culture, and political creed, will hardly come about. Professor Dardano¹ comments as follows on a league of nations:

"One only State embracing all the human race may seem to be the design of God. And this was indeed the dream of some conquerors who, carried away by an unbridled ambition, thought that the Lord God had created the human race in order to give it into their power for amusement. Some socialists, too, who walk with their heads in the clouds, have had the same dream. But whoever considers how impossible is such a State — how there could be no civilization, or prosperity, or well-being in it — will easily conclude that it is the will of God for the human race to continue and to flourish in perfection by means of various particular societies, each one of them autonomous and independent, each one of them a State in itself."²

TOPICS FOR DISCUSSION

- 1 What is the object or end of the State?
- 2 Explain the meaning of the word "authority." Is authority necessary for the State?
- 3 Is God the Author of authority?
- 4 Has the social worker any authority?
- 5 Have policemen any authority? Should children be taught to respect and obey them?
- 6 Have judges any authority?
- 7 Mention others in whom authority is vested.
- 8 Would it be a social evil if authority were allowed to weaken?
- 9 Is it possible for legislators to make unjust laws? Give examples.
- 10 Could social life exist without the State?
- 11 Should the State legislate for purely social matters?

¹ *The Elements of Social Science and Political Economy*, p. 52.

² A further development of the subject treated in this chapter will be found in Part VI, Chapter I.

- 12 Should social workers take interest in legislation? Give example in which they neglected such interest
- 13 May social workers exercise their influence to bring about good social laws?
- 14 Mention some laws in which social workers should be especially interested
- 15 In this country do we need more social laws or a better observance of those already enacted?
- 16 What legislation is especially needed for your community?
- 17 What connection is there between political ideals and social ideals?
- 18 Can corrupt politics injure social life? How?
- 19 When laws are not respected, will social life be injured?
- 20 If the State looks to the good and happiness of the citizens, would it not seem that private institutions and social workers are useless?

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PART IV
SOCIAL PATHOLOGY

CHAPTER I

CRIME AND JUVENILE DELINQUENCY

1. Crime a Social Problem. — A social problem is any social situation or social process that produces undesirable effects in society and calls for correction by the action of a group so as to secure social welfare. From this point of view crime is one of the more serious problems that confronts society today. For if a large proportion of the members of any community are frequently guilty of graver crimes, social welfare is much endangered.

Is Crime Increasing? Some compilers of statistics have advanced the theory that crime is on the increase while others emphatically deny that this is the case. We must above all remember that, since the State takes cognizance only of overt acts, and since numerous laws have been added to the statute books which were unknown a few decades ago, an increase in violation of laws does not necessarily imply a corresponding increase in criminality. On the other hand, there can be no doubt that the decay of respect for authority and the lessening influence of religious sanctions have been responsible, to some extent, for more frequent crimes.

2. Reliance on Statistics. — One of the standard authorities on the subject of statistics with regard to all the phenomena of social life is Richmond Mayo-Smith. Discussing criminal statistics, he says "It is a question whether to count the number of crimes or the number of criminals. Sometimes several persons are involved in one crime. In that case, to count all the persons gives us too many crimes. In other cases, one criminal commits a series of crimes. For instance, a thief may have committed ten thefts, or a forger a hundred forgeries, before he is convicted. To count all these crimes would give us too many criminals. A man also may be convicted of two or three different crimes. To enter a conviction under each one of these crimes would again give too many criminals. Practically, the object of interest to the community is the number of criminals."¹

¹ *Statistics and Sociology*, p. 285

3. New Laws Add to the Volume of Crime. — A single new law, like a traffic ordinance, a pure-food law, and the law forbidding the manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquor will, of course, add to the number of annual arrests, without, however, necessarily indicating increase of malice and lawlessness. Judge Gemmill of the municipal court of Chicago has declared that in 1912 about sixteen thousand persons were charged with misdemeanors before the municipal court, out of this number more than one-half "were accused of violating laws which did not exist fifteen years ago."

In other words, the growth of modern industry and commerce, modern methods of social control, and perhaps even a larger development of the "social sense" may be responsible for new laws, thus adding to the amount of crime.

4. Fallacy of Reasoning from "Concomitants." — Some persons have attempted to link crime with other social phenomena and say that there is a definite correlation between the two. Thus in Germany convictions increased from 1885 to 1886 by a little more than three per cent. It happened that the importation of woollen manufactures increased in that period in about the same way. A careless interpretation of "statistics of crime and woollen manufactures" might lead to the false conclusion that the increase in wool importation was responsible for the increase in crime.

5. Fallacy of Comparing Various Countries on the Basis of Criminal Statistics. — Other unsound conclusions are easily drawn when comparison is instituted between countries on the basis of criminality. It has become the fashion to point to leading cities of our country like New York, Chicago, St. Louis, etc., and to compare their record of crime with that of entire countries like Scotland, England, and Wales, or with great European cities like London, Paris, and Berlin, much to the disadvantage of American cities. However, certain adverse factors in our American cities which bear on the volume of crime do not exist in the larger European centers. Among them is "heterogeneity of population." Like-mindedness of groups and similarity of social and political ideals may become factors of social peace and ward off certain conditions making for lawlessness. Mr. Raymond B. Fosdick mentions this fact when he says "With rare exceptions, the population of European cities are homogeneous. The population of American cities is heterogeneous to an extent almost without parallel. Only 3 per cent

of London's population is foreign-born. Where London has 211,000 foreign-born, Paris 170,000, and Berlin 60,000, New York has 1,944,357, of which 1,563,964 are of non-English-speaking peoples, while Chicago has 783,428, of which 653,377 are from non-English-speaking countries "¹

These facts justify Professor Sutherland's statement in his chapter on "Statistics of Crime." "We may conclude," he writes, "that statistics of convictions give some indications of changes in frequency of crimes, but that they should generally be regarded with considerable suspicion. They cannot be trusted until they are analyzed and studied in connection with the whole set of social conditions, influences, and attitudes, and in connection with the laws, definitions and procedure. This is practically an impossible task for the United States as a whole. The figures, as they appear in the reports of the different states at present, are not dependable as an index of crime, and a compilation of the figures of different states would be a meaningless hodgepodge."²

6. Crime, Vice, Sin.—Another factor that renders very uncertain discussion of the question whether crime is on the increase is the vague use by some writers of the three related terms—crime, vice, and sin. Crime may be defined as "any act, or omission to act, punished by society as a wrong against itself." In other words, it is a violation of the established law of the State. But since the State takes no notice of thought and volition, only the overt act against law is considered a crime. Sin, however, is an offense against God, a transgression against the divine law and is any thought, desire, word, act or omission against that law. Vice has sometimes been defined as an offense against oneself, inasmuch as it is a practice indulged in by an individual which is generally harmful to him and may lead to degeneracy and ultimate injury to society.

Classification of Crimes. According to their seriousness and atrocity, offenses against the law are generally classified as felonies or misdemeanors. The former are the highest of the principal classes into which crimes are divided by statute. They are the graver crimes, and in New York and some other states the term includes all crimes punishable with death or with imprisonment in a state prison. The latter is an offense less grave than an indictable

¹ *Crime in America and the Police*, p. 3

² Sutherland, Edwin H., *Criminology*, p. 50

felony According to Blackstone,¹ it is "an act committed, or omitted, in violation of a public law either forbidding or commanding it" In the English common law a third crime is mentioned — treason, which was originally included under felony Felony is punishable by death or imprisonment or by imprisonment and a fine, while the penalty for misdemeanors is imprisonment in a local prison or fine or both The original distinction between them based on kinds of punishment is tending to disappear

Gillin states an important fact in the development of law when he says that "many things which were once crimes have become torts, or matters of civil process for the recovery of damages Some felonies have become misdemeanors, on the one hand, and on the other some misdemeanors have been made crimes by statute All such changes register modifications in social judgment as to the injuriousness of acts and as to the proper methods of preventing such acts"²

The Social Aspect of Various Kinds of Crimes Society finds it necessary to safeguard the material welfare of its members by prosecuting certain acts and proscribing others In other words, howsoever we further subdivide the kinds of crime, we always find a "social element" involved Thus, a more definite classification of criminal offenses is that of crimes against property, against public peace and order, against religion, against the family, against morals, and against the conservation of natural resources Here it is evident that in any offense the individuals of a group or members of society are harmed by the commission of certain acts

Sir James Stephens in his *History of the Criminal Law of England* gives us as concise a classification of crime as may be attempted He divides crimes into five general groups (1) attacks upon public order, (2) abuses and obstructions of public authority, (3) acts injurious to the public in general, (4) attacks upon the persons of individuals, (5) attacks upon the property of individuals Here, too, the "social element" is evident in every group

7. Though Crime May Be a Changing Concept, There Is an Immutable Standard of What Is Morally Right or Wrong. — Gillin concludes his chapter on "Definitions What is a Crime? What is a Criminal?" as follows "Whenever it [society] believes that a

¹ *Commentaries on the Laws of England*, Vol IV, p 1

² Gillin, John Lewis, *Criminology and Penology*, p 17

kind of conduct which was once thought to be indifferent to the welfare of the group actually threatens some of these cherished interests, it applies repressive methods, and that conduct becomes criminal. Thus crime is a changing concept, dependent upon the social development of a people, that is, upon the fundamental interests dominating their common thought."¹

It is true that in the process of social advance we develop new "fundamental interests" which in turn lead to laws, prescriptive or prohibitive. This is practically a necessity in an evolving industrial civilization like ours, in which science is continually unearthing new facts which, if brought under social control, may become a social promise, if the new knowledge be disregarded, as for instance, information concerning the spread of disease by germs, the disregard may become a social menace. Hence society establishes a law forbidding a "certain something" which has been ascertained to be harmful to all of us, or it prescribes something which must be done, in order to safeguard social welfare. In either case, we have new laws whose disregard is "criminal" because opposed to society's "fundamental interests."

But notwithstanding all this, some acts will always be wrong because man has certain rights which are in no way due to the concession of the social body. Some rights are *inborn*, as the right to live, to defend one's life, to health, education, and religion. All that society can do is to safeguard these rights and to make it possible for every individual to enjoy them. Hence any infringement upon these personal and essential claims of the individual is a crime, no matter when or by whom it is attempted. The unlawful killing of a human being is always wrong and immoral and has always been so considered. The tales told by hasty travelers through remote regions that certain primitive tribes look upon murder as a harmless deed belong to the realm of fables. This is the verdict of a more intensive study of primitive people during the last half century.

8. Youthful Age of Prisoners. — Though crime is a social phenomenon which is not confined to one age, it is apparent that economic factors will always drive a proportionately large number of young men into crime. The ages from 21 to 24 are especially significant in this respect. From the latest available publication on crime in the United States as reflected in census statistics of im-

¹ *Ibid*, p. 23

prisoned offenders,¹ we quote the following "comparative table" of prison population of 15 years of age and over for the years 1923 and 1910. This table shows the "age distribution for commitments in 1923 and 1910, and for the adult population in 1920 and 1910. For 1923, the estimated numbers of commitments during the year are shown. The ratio of commitments to one hundred thousand population in 1923 and 1910 and the decrease in this ratio from 1910 to 1923 are shown.

AGE	POPULATION 15 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER		COMMITMENTS DURING THE YEAR						
			Number		Per cent distribution		Per 100,000 popula- tion of same age		
	1920	1910	1922 ²	1910	1923	1910	1923	1910	Per cent of de- crease, 1910 to 1923
Total	72,008,178	62,473,130	357,493	479,787	100.0	100.0	495.8	768.0	-35.4
15 to 17 years	5,089,576	5,372,176	7,195	11,016	2.0	2.5	126.5	221.8	-43.0
18 to 20 years	5,522,082	5,546,049	31,086	35,119	8.7	7.3	562.9	633.2	-11.1
21 to 24 years	7,495,919	7,202,362	52,760	64,212	14.8	13.4	703.9	861.5	-21.0
25 to 34 years	17,157,684	15,152,188	100,007	129,974	28.0	27.1	582.9	837.8	-32.0
35 to 44 years	14,120,838	11,667,687	80,829	99,023	22.6	20.6	572.4	849.4	-32.6
45 to 64 years	17,030,165	13,424,089	60,838	78,638	17.0	16.4	357.2	586.8	-39.0
65 years and over	4,933,215	3,949,524	4,931	7,718	1.4	1.6	100.0	195.4	-48.8
Age unknown	148,699	169,055	19,841	53,187	5.6	11.1			

As shown by the number of commitments per 100,000 population, persons 21 to 24 years of age contributed, both in 1923 and in 1910, more commitments in proportion to their numbers than any other age group. In both censuses, the number of commitments in proportion to population increased with advancing age, to the age period "21 to 24", then the number decreased with advancing age, persons 65 years and over having decidedly the lowest ratio.

It is convenient to study such a far-reaching social problem as crime under three heads: causes, effects, and remedial measures.

Perhaps in no question of social pathology have opinions been so conflicting as in that concerning the causes of crime. A familiar division of these causes is that into subjective or individual, and

¹ Prisoners 1923. "Crime Conditions in the United States as Reflected in Census Statistics of Imprisoned Offenders," Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, p. 71. Washington, 1926.

² Enumerated for the period January 1 to June 30, estimated for the rest of the year.

objective or social causes. To a large extent no one but the criminal himself may be held responsible for the former class. But society is largely responsible for the social or objective causes of crime. Another classification of causes is that into those of the external world, of the social conditions, and of the physical and psychical nature of the individual.

9. Theory of the Existence of a Distinct Anthropological Criminal Type Cannot Be Held. — The deterministic philosophy as regards crime and wrong-doing is still widely maintained, though its grossest exaggeration by the positive school of Lombroso, that there is a type called the "born criminal," is now universally rejected. Lombroso, an Italian physician and criminologist, asserted that criminals are by birth a distinct type and that the type can be recognized by "stigmata" or anomalies — long lower jaw, asymmetrical cranium, flattened nose, large ears, low sensitivity to pain, etc. Lombroso himself never seemed quite sure as to what extent such stigmata were to be found in a person in order to mark him as a "born criminal." For while in the first edition of his work he affirmed that all criminals are of the type he had pictured, in later editions he held that about forty per cent of criminals fall under his "criminal type."

Much controversy has arisen over this "ultradeterministic" theory, which would make the criminal a mere automaton without any moral responsibility. Practically all men who have been prison officials for many years reject this materialistic theory of the cause of crime. S. G. Smith reminds us that "the examination of prisoners will show that large numbers of them have no manifest stigmata at all, and on the other hand many of the wisest and the best have been as badly marked as Socrates is reputed to have been." The same writer gives us a good test of the value of the theory when he says that "the state would never dare to send out men with measuring instruments to discover the criminals before their deeds, and so prevent all crime and simplify some of the gravest duties of the state."¹

It was an English physician, Dr. Charles Goring, who effectively refuted Lombroso's assumptions. With the help of prison physicians he examined three thousand English convicts by the biometric method. His conclusions are so destructive of the theory of Lombroso that it can no longer be upheld as even remotely probable

¹ *Social Pathology*, p. 141

Goring writes "We have exhaustively compared, with regard to many physical characters, different kinds of criminals with each other, and criminals as a class, with the law-abiding public. Our results nowhere confirm the evidence [of a physical criminal type], nor justify the allegation of criminal anthropologists. They challenge their attention at almost every point. In fact, both with regard to measurements and the presence of physical anomalies in criminals, our statistics present a startling conformity with similar statistics of the law-abiding class. Our inevitable conclusion must be that there is no such thing as a physical criminal type" ¹

10. Danger of Arguing from a Selected Group. — It is true that a group of criminals may show a higher percentage of physical anomalies and of defective intelligence than a group of law-abiding citizens. But this is due to the fact that a group of criminals is really a "selected group" and is therefore apt to show certain physical and psychical traits more frequently than a nonselected group. Dr Goring comments on this fact as follows: "Reviewing the general trend of our results, it would seem that the appearances, stated by anthropologists of all countries to be peculiar to criminals, are thus described because of a too separate inspection and narrow view of the facts by these observers. They cannot see the wood for the trees. Obsessed by preconceived beliefs, small differences of intimate structure have been uncritically accepted by them and exaggerated to fit fantastic theories. The truths that have been overlooked are that these deviations, described as significant of criminality, are the inevitable concomitants of inferior stature and defective intelligence, both of which are the differentia of the types of persons who are selected for imprisonment" ²

11. Other False Theories Concerning Cause of Crime. — The influence of geographic environment and of soil, climate, and changing weather conditions on human conduct has been stressed by Buckle and Montesquieu among earlier writers, and by Professor Ellsworth Huntington and Miss Semple among recent students. Kropotkin has stated this "climatic influence" in a way which no student will accept. "Take the average temperature of the month," he said, "and multiply it by seven, then add the average humidity,

¹ *The English Convict: A Statistical Study*, p. 173

² Goring, *op cit*. Quoted by Ford, *Social Problems and Social Policy*, p. 809

multiply again by two, and you will obtain the number of homicides that are to be committed during the month"¹

12. Unsound Generalizations. — It were folly to consider such statements as contributing to our knowledge of causes of crime. There are so many other factors besides atmospheric condition and soil and climate that to select one factor alone vitiates criminal statistics. Even such a statement that cold weather incites to crimes against property, and hot weather to crimes against the person — true enough in a general summary of causes — needs further explanation. As regards sultry weather it is necessary to know whether the crime is due to the hot spell directly or to the awakening of wrong impulses, or whether it is owing to more frequent contact between groups in summer time. So, too, cold weather brings on unemployment especially in the large city, and the unemployed will need money. Hence an economic cause, and not the weather, would be responsible for crimes against property.

A classification of crime very commonly used in textbooks is that of social and individual causes. The former are also called "objective." They exist outside the individual, and the blame may rest, to a good extent, upon society. Such causes would be low wages and unemployment. Individual causes are those which are found in the wrongdoer himself and are therefore also called "subjective." Laziness, or "personality difficulties" which prevent a person from holding a job would be causes of this kind. However, this is altogether too vague even for a most general classification, moreover, the two types of causes often intermingle. Hence, other factors, like heredity, immigration, political conditions, social position, education, conjugal relation, customs and density of population, must be considered in an adequate analysis of the causation of crime.

13. Study of Causes of Crime Must Be Studies of the "Individual Delinquent." — In no domain of sociologic inquiry is there so much room for wild speculation and naive theorizing as in the inquiry into causes of crime. A story is told of a certain meeting of social workers at which three women delegates proposed in turn their different "reasons" for the prevalence of crime in our country. The first speaker attributed wrongful conduct to the "demon alcohol." The second tried to "prove" that it was "ignorance" and

¹ Quoted by C. Bernaldo de Quirós, *Modern Theories of Criminality*, p. 34.

that more "schooling" would usher in a crimeless era. The third delegate said "You are both wrong. All delinquency and all evil conduct comes from 'bad environment'." It is needless to add that this particular meeting added nothing to our knowledge of the problem of crime. Equally worthless is this statement "Crime is caused by a physical defect of the brain. This defect renders its victim so far below normal in emotion that he has little or no conscience, or so far above normal in emotion as to make him hysterically irresponsible."¹

It was not until the "individual case-study" method was introduced, a method by which the criminal rather than the crime was studied, that real progress toward solving the problem of causation of crime was made. The leader in this movement, though he used it more especially in the study of juvenile delinquents, is Dr. William Healy, director of the Judge Baker Foundation of Boston. By his books and by numerous articles he exercised a wide influence among social workers, probation officers, and all those interested in the problem of juvenile delinquency.² The method suggested is that of a thorough examination of all factors bearing on the misconduct and of studying all traits or conditions in relation to the rest of the situation. But above all, each individual concerned is studied as *an individual* and not as exemplifying some "criminal type" or a definite category of criminality. A feature of the "individual" study, which is not much considered in the earlier methods of ascertaining causes of crime, is "the delinquent's own story" of his actions.

14. Can We Have an Absolutely Scientific Interpretation of Causes of Crime? — Even the individual case-study method, so thorough and inclusive of all factors making for crime, has been criticized. It is said that its explanations are too much subject to the preconceived ideas of those conducting the examination. This may lead to overemphasis of certain factors. We may therefore ask whether it is possible to establish an absolutely scientific basis for determining the ultimate causes of criminal conduct. Scientific studies of delinquency will, of course, help us, and they are the only kind we should welcome, but do not many look upon the individual

¹ Strothers, French, *The Cause and Cure of Crime*, *World's Work*, July, 1924.

² *The Individual Delinquent*, 1915, *Mental Conflicts*, 1917, *Pathological Lying*, 1915, *Judge Baker Foundation, Case Studies*, 1922.

as little more than an organism "reacting to stimuli"? Is not modern criminology, floundering about in an ocean of uncertainties, paying the penalty of such false systems as "behaviorism"? How can man, with such tremendous capacities for moral good or evil, be treated like a vegetable growth, measured like an electric force, or analyzed like a chemical compound? Is not the whole wide field of psychoanalysis finding still deeper mysteries in the human mind and soul than have heretofore been realized?

Man is a compound, made up of body and an immortal spirit, with yearning for complete happiness, though seeking it at times on devious paths and in abnormal ways. It will be quite difficult to register on a scientific scale all the aberrations of a being which may be buffeted by a thousand impulses, inexplicable perhaps to the victim himself, all but unfathomable to the shrewdest observer.

Gillin refers to this fact in his chapter on "The Physical Characteristics of the Individual." He says: "How little is actually known of the subtle ways in which one's conduct is determined! How delicate is the balance in one's make-up at certain times that makes it possible for what seems but a very slight occurrence to determine the event in conduct! Statistics reveal only the powerful influences which operate in a large number of cases. Only very careful probing by the psychologist, the psychiatrist, and the case worker uncovers the subtler influences to be found in suggestion, hatreds, irritations, examples, fatigues, innuendoes, and similar influences."¹ But it is proper to add that not rarely these "subtler influences" remain undiscovered.

The value of the general division of causes of crime into subjective and objective is apparent when we note the unsuccessful attempts of many criminologists to lay down an adequate classification. We have, for instance, such vague divisions as that of Professor Hayes who says that these causes may be classified under three heads: heredity, acquired traits, environment. A very recent classification of criminals is that by Parsons,² who speaks of internal and external causation in the making of criminals: the former group would give the insane, the born, and the habitual criminal, the latter, the occasional criminal and the one who becomes so by "passion or accident." But besides shifting the basis from causes of crime to types of criminal, this scheme is at fault by using the

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 89

² *Crime and the Criminal*, p. 64

unfortunate phrase "born criminal" Most criminologists hold with Goring that "this anthropological monster has no existence in fact" Still another general division would be that of Professor Smith,¹ who discusses "Economics and Crime" (our social causes) and "Psychology of Crime" (to some extent including subjective causes)

In view of this wide difference in classifying crimes, we therefore return to the division into subjective and objective, already adopted Wines states this division as follows: "The cause of crime may be sought in the criminal himself — in his history, prenatal and post-natal; and in his physical, mental, and moral organization and capacities This may be called the subjective answer

"It may be sought outside the criminal — in his education, training, and all the external circumstances and influences by which he is surrounded, from his birth until his death This is the objective answer" ²

15. Mental Factors and Constitutional Inferiority. — Among the causes "in the criminal himself" we may mention first of all the various kinds of mental defect The importance of this factor in the etiology of crime has been much insisted on, perhaps too much so, by students of criminology In fact, there are writers who look upon some form of mental pathology — feeble-mindedness, epilepsy, constitutional inferiority, dementia præcox — as the chief causative factor of crime Numerous statistics have been quoted to lend weight to this contention Among those holding to the view that "the bulk of crime is committed by persons who are unable to adjust themselves to society with a sufficient degree of success to meet the requirements of the law" are Goring, Goddard, Healy, White, Jacoby, and Adler This opinion receives some support in the case of recidivists, or second and third, etc., offenders It is quite reasonable to assign mental defect as cause of crime in the case of a person who repeats a grave offense when he knows that punishment awaits him

Out of 1992 cases in the boys' court of the municipal court of Chicago, from May 1, 1914, to April 30, 1917, according to the tests used in the psychopathic laboratory, only 183 ranked as of "average intelligence" But 1082 or 54.32 per cent ranked as "high-grade morons," that is as having the intelligence of children not over twelve years of age Again in a group of 686 delinquent girls, 70

¹ *Social Pathology*, pp 148-179

² *Punishment and Reformation*, new enlarged edition, p 267

were graded of "average intelligence," and 368, that is, 53.64 per cent were classified as high-grade morons

It is true that the "tests" used by Dr. Hickson have been criticized, and the whole method of "intelligence testing" has been questioned, but a residue of fact remains after allowance is made for probable errors

16. Some Further Statistics.—The findings of the psychopathic laboratory of the municipal court of Chicago are, however, in line with statistics gathered from its neighboring state of Wisconsin. In a survey of the penal institutions of that state, conducted by V. V. Anderson, M.D., under the auspices of the National Committee for Mental Hygiene, in 1920,¹ it was found that feeble-mindedness played a prominent part in the causing of delinquency. Some of the statements of the report are very explicit on the relation of crime and mental defect. In the chapter on delinquency we read

"There are factors whose causal relationship has been so repeatedly and definitely demonstrated as to make it quite clear that any program for the prevention of crime which ignores their importance must inevitably fail in attaining its object. These are the mental factors involved in delinquency.

"It is now coming more and more to be realized that few factors play so important a part in crime as the mental condition of the offender and that prevention of future criminal conduct must be based on an actual knowledge of the offender himself, of those influences responsible for his present condition and of his needs as well as his deeds. It is to this part of the problem that much of our energies and interests have been directed.

"The following table will throw light upon one phase of this question among inmates of the state prison:

MENTAL DIAGNOSIS OF INMATES AT STATE PRISON, WAUPUN, WISCONSIN

DIAGNOSIS	NUMBER	PERCENTAGE
Normal	143	25.1
Dull normal	93	16.3
Subnormal	113	19.8
Feeble-minded	68	11.9
Epileptic	7	1.2
Psychopathic personality	103	18.1
Psychoneurosis	4	0.7
Mental disease or deterioration	39	6.9
Total	570	100.0

¹ *A Report of the Wisconsin Mental Deficiency Survey with Recommendation*, Madison, 1920, p. 3

"Approximately 12 per cent of the inmates of this institution were feeble-minded persons, individuals with the bodies of adults and the minds of children. These findings are rather low as compared with the results of studies made in other state prisons. At Sing Sing (New York) 21 per cent were found to be feeble-minded, at Auburn State Prison (New York) 35 per cent were reported feeble-minded, at Joliet Penitentiary (Illinois) 28 per cent, at Indiana State Prison 23 per cent, at San Quentin (California) 30 per cent, and at Moundsville (West Virginia) 28 per cent."

Dr Anderson summarizes similar facts in a report on mental disease and delinquency as follows ¹

"One of the most important, if not the most important, group of which society needs to take cognizance is the feeble-minded. The feeble-minded furnish the substantial nucleus of that most expensive body of individuals who clog the machinery of justice, who spend their lives in and out of penal institutions and furnish data for the astonishing facts of recidivism — facts which are serving to awaken our social conscience to the need of more adequate treatment under the law for repeated offenders. It is of this group that Dr. Walter E. Fernald has so well said: 'Feeble-mindedness is the mother of crime, pauperism, and degeneracy. It is certain that the feeble-minded and their progeny constitute one of the great social and economic burdens of modern times.'"

17. Intemperance. — There is no need to enlarge upon the wide field of important factors like training, heredity, habits, and occupation, which often lead to crime. Suffice it to point to intemperance or alcoholism as a prolific source of crime. This vice lowers inhibitory powers, dulls the conscience, brutalizes the mind, and leads to most degrading practices. It has often been the cause of murder.

Age and Sex — It has been estimated that the ages most frequently found in statistics of arrests, convictions, and commitments are between twenty-one and twenty-four. This is in keeping with the complaint all over the land, of the "young age of criminals." As regards sex, if we take the figures of the United States Census for 1910 as a basis, we find that there were about nine times as many males as females in penal institutions. This may be accounted for partially by the greater economic stress to which man is subject as the breadwinner, and also by the more sheltered home life of women.

¹ *A Report of a Special Committee of the New York State Commission of Prisons*. New York, 1919, p. 4

18. Objective Causes of Crime. — The economic urge, that is, the need for money and more money, is generally cited as a cause of crime. Bonger, a Dutch criminologist, thinks that economic causes are sufficient to account for all crime. Sometimes this economic cause is referred to as "the capitalistic organization of society," and sometimes as "the wide gulf separating those who have from those who have not." However, the mere inequality of wealth ought not to be set down as a cause of crime, as even in communities where social and economic justice rules supreme, there will always be disparity in worldly possession. The case of Jean Valjean in *Les Miserables* does not occur every day, and in our ordered communities there are many ready avenues of relief in such an emergency, without the need of resorting to crime.

19. Bad Home Environment. — This phrase practically covers the whole wide field of "environment" as a social cause of crime. For in the home are at work those influences which mold, and often determine, the character and conduct of the future citizen. Score cards for "measuring the goodness of a home" have been devised, but ratings of "poor homes" on such a basis have often proved unsatisfactory. Some of the items included in the score card are income, food, clothing, furnishings, comforts, neatness as regards interior sanitation and arrangement, parental conditions as regards intelligence and harmony, and parental supervision. But such a schedule lacks flexibility and what is good and necessary in one home, is not necessarily so for another. The most important factor — necessary in homes of both rich and poor — is the good moral and religious example of parents. If this be absent, other factors of equipment and ornament count for little.

The sad fact, however, is that so many crimes may be traced precisely to the absence of such wholesome spiritual training and example in early years. In other words, the "environment" was at fault. Not only the home but the type of neighborhood and neighborhood influences may lead to a career of vice and crime later on.

20. Broken Homes. — A home deprived of father, mother, or other wholesome uplifting influence is apt to be detrimental to the moral welfare of those reared within its walls. The old belief about the importance and necessity of early character training at home is borne out by the experience of social workers. Dr. Sutherland says "Of the various elements in the home that are regarded as

instrumental in the formation of tendencies toward delinquency, the one that has been most emphasized, aside from alcoholism and poverty, is the break in the home by death, desertion, separation, or divorce"¹ A home without good character-building influence is especially disastrous for girls In the *Report on Condition of Women and Child Wage Earners in the United States*² we read that "among girl delinquents the proportion coming from broken families and bad homes was much greater than among boys"

Bad companions often exert an evil influence though home conditions may be the best Hence it is proper to look upon evil associates as a special, and even a prolific, source of crime The two series of one thousand cases each, of juvenile recidivists in Chicago, studied by Dr William Healy and Dr Augusta Bronner, are often quoted in books on criminology In these cases it was found that "bad companions" were responsible for wrongdoing in 34 per cent of the first, and 55 per cent of the second series"³

Unemployment, low wages, hours of labor, housing conditions, special kinds of occupation, like domestic service in the case of girls, and poverty in the homes are often causes of crime They all loom up in statistics as contributory factors Even industrial changes, like the introduction of a new type of machine, may throw persons out of employment, and the consequent stress may lead to theft, burglary, etc

21. Lax Court Procedure and Obstruction of Justice.—A saying of President Taft at a speech in Chicago, in September, 1909, is often quoted to show the extremely lax methods of our criminal courts "It is not too much to say that the administration of criminal law in this country is a disgrace to our civilization and that the prevalence of crime and fraud, which here is greatly in excess of that in European countries, is due largely to the failure of the law and its administration to bring criminals to justice"

Raymond B Fosdick offers some telling examples of the "technicalities of court procedure," by virtue of which even the worst criminals may escape punishment Such immunity from a well-deserved penalty cannot but produce disrespect, and even contempt for the law Mr Fosdick's indictment runs as follows:

¹ *Criminology*, p 143

² Vol VIII, p 134 Washington, 1911

³ *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol XXII, p 52

"Space is not available for more than a hasty discussion of this important factor. In the first place, our legal procedure with its red tape and technicalities is fantastically employed to aid the criminal. When a verdict of murder is set aside because the word 'aforethought' is omitted after the word 'malice', when a man convicted of assault with intent to kill is freed because the copying clerk left out the letter *l* in the word 'malice', when an indictment for rape is held defective because it concluded 'against the peace and dignity of State' instead of 'against the peace and dignity of *the* State', when another murderer is discharged because the prosecution neglected to prove that the real name of the victim and his alias represented one and the same person, when a horse thief is released because the indictment ended in the words 'against the peace and dignity of the state of *W* Virginia,' instead of 'against the peace and dignity of the state of *West* Virginia' — briefly, when in a manner utterly unknown in Europe, such absurdities can be spun to defeat the ends of justice, it is not surprising that the police are slack and careless" ¹

"But in England," continues Fosdick, "the situation is far different. Any volume of judicial statistics or any report of the police commissioner of London bears out the contrast. In 1904, for example, in London — to pick up a random report — there were twenty cases of premeditated murder. In six the perpetrators committed suicide, one man was sent immediately to an asylum, and one escaped to Italy. Of the twelve persons arrested and brought to trial, one was acquitted, five were adjudged insane and confined in an asylum, and six were sentenced to death. In 1917 in the same city, there were nineteen premeditated murders. Three cases remained unsolved, five perpetrators committed suicide, and eleven were arrested. Of the eleven arrests, there were eight convictions. In the whole of England and Wales for 1916, eighty-five murders were committed and fifty-nine people arrested in connection therewith were committed for trial. Fifty-three trials resulted during the year. Twelve of the accused were found insane on arraignment and were confined, sixteen were found guilty but were adjudged insane and confined, ten were acquitted, and fifteen were sentenced to death."

22. Crime and the Immigrant. — The statement is often made that our immigrants, especially those of the "recent immigration" from southern and eastern Europe, add largely, or rather in a larger ratio than the native-born, to the volume of crime. Is this

¹ *Crime in America and the Police*, p. 29

accusation borne out by facts? Dr Isaac A. Hourwich has made a study of the subject and answers our question in the negative. It is not necessary to reproduce here his tables of statistics showing that it is by no means true that a high rate of immigration to our country means a corresponding increase of crime. We quote his conclusion. As far as the state of New York is concerned, which may be considered typical of states that receive a large number of immigrants, "the wave of criminality coincided with the lowest ebb of immigration, while the high tide of immigration was contemporaneous with a decrease of crime."¹

23. Is Criminality Due to Occupation?—It has been said so often that certain kinds of employment lead to wrong-doing, especially in the case of women, that the statement merits consideration. A most exhaustive study of the relation between occupation and criminality of women has been made under the direction of Mr Chas. P. Neill, former Commissioner of Labor.² The investigation shows that there is no necessary connection between employment and wrong-doing. Two conclusions are stated as follows:

- "1 Not one person consulted had given occupational influences as a leading cause of immorality, and only two laid any particular stress upon them as subsidiary causes.
- "2 Not one worker assigned poverty or low wages as a direct and immediate cause of immorality. It was agreed that indirectly their influence is great, but in the whole inquiry only five cases were found in which the workers reporting them believed that the women had been driven into wrong-doing by work."

24. Juvenile Delinquency.—Many of the foregoing paragraphs apply to criminality of both adults and juveniles. Society has, however, so completely revolutionized its method of dealing with juvenile delinquents that sociologic texts generally devote a special chapter to the subject.

The most important feature in the modern treatment of the juvenile wrong-doer is the Juvenile Court, inaugurated in Chicago, in 1899. The causes leading to the establishment of a juvenile court

- "Immigration and Crime," *American Journal of Sociology*, January, 1912, reprinted in *Immigration and Americanization*, edited by Philip Davis, p. 310.

² *Report on Condition of Woman and Child Wage-earners in the United States*, Vol. XV, p. 82.

are given by Dr Frederick Wines, formerly secretary of the Illinois State Board of Charity, as follows

" We make criminals out of children who are not criminals by treating them as if they were criminals That ought to be stopped What we should have in our system of criminal jurisprudence is an entirely separate system of courts for children in large cities who commit offenses which would be criminal in adults We ought to have a ' children's court ' in Chicago, and we ought to have a ' children's judge,' who should attend to no other business We want some place of detention for those children other than a prison (reference made to the New York system of detention) A thing we want to borrow from the State of Massachusetts is its system of probation No child ought to be tried unless he has a friend in court to look after his real interests In such cases in Massachusetts the judge sends a probation lawyer to investigate the conditions of the home and all the circumstances surrounding the case "

A chief reason for the institution of the juvenile court lay in the danger of forcing youths to associate with adult criminals in jails, reformatories, detention homes, etc At present young persons under sixteen years¹ accused of crime are treated not as malefactors needing punishment but as children requiring correction and helpful treatment

The chief characteristics of juvenile courts which distinguish them from criminal courts are separate hearings for children's cases, informal or chancery procedure, regular probation service, detention separate from adults, special court records, provision for mental and physical examination By " chancery procedure " is meant an exercise of special power by the court in favor of the child, the court acts *in loco parentis* The court by virtue of chancery power exercises special jurisdiction whenever the interest of the State demands intervention to save a child in jeopardy Juvenile courts are now established in all sections of the country, and also in most of the larger cities of Europe They are among the most progressive features of the social legislation of our time

25. Is Juvenile Delinquency Increasing? — There has been so much complaint about the willful ways of modern youth and so much dire prophecy about the future of our land on account of " the revolt of modern youth from our conventional standards " that

¹ It is difficult to establish a fixed age for " juveniles " A committee appointed to formulate juvenile court standards for the United States recommends eighteen years as age limit

thoroughly false notions on juvenile delinquency have become current. Is the youth of today really so much more culpable than that of a generation ago? According to recent Government statistics, we must take into account the sex difference. For as regards juvenile delinquency the percentage of girls in the ratio of 100,000 per population increased from 13.7 in 1910 to 19.3 in 1923. The percentage of girls in 1904 (11.6) was smaller than in 1910. The number of delinquent boys admitted to institutions per 100,000 population of the same age and sex was considerably less in 1923 than in 1910—251.9 as compared with 294.4, a reduction of 14.4 per cent. In contrast, the number of delinquent girls per 100,000 of the same age and sex increased from 47.2 in 1910 to 60.4 in 1923, or 28 per cent.

The following tables give the number of juvenile delinquents in institutions in 1910 and the first half of 1923, and also the number of inmates in the two types of institutions, for the same two periods.

JUVENILE DELINQUENTS 10 TO 17 YEARS OF AGE ADMITTED TO INSTITUTIONS, 1910 AND FIRST 6 MONTHS OF 1923, WITH RATIO PER 100,000 POPULATION, BY SEX

YEAR	DELINQUENTS 10 TO 17 YEARS OF AGE ADMITTED TO INSTITUTIONS							
	Total	Male		Female		Ratio per 100,000 population 10 to 17 years of age ¹		
		Num- ber	Per cent	Num- ber	Per cent	Total	Male	Fe- male
1923—first 6 months	12,538	10,119	80.7	2,419	19.3	156.5	251.9	60.4
1910	* 24,854	21,459	86.3	3,395	13.7	171.7	294.4	47.2

The types of institutions to which the boys and girls were admitted in 1910 and in the first 6 months of 1923 are shown in the following table. In 1910, 47.8 per cent of the boys and 39.4 per cent of the girls were admitted to penal institutions, in 1923, 28.4 per cent of the boys and 19.5 per cent of the girls were admitted to such institutions.

¹ Ratios for 1923 based on population for 1920 and number of delinquents estimated for year.

² Includes 698 dependent children admitted to institutions. The total number of such children under 18 years of age was 809-679 boys and 130 girls.

JUVENILE DELINQUENTS UNDER 18 YEARS OF AGE ADMITTED TO INSTITUTIONS, 1910 AND FIRST 6 MONTHS OF 1923, BY TYPE OF INSTITUTION AND SEX

YEAR	JUVENILE DELINQUENTS UNDER 18 YEARS OF AGE ADMITTED				
	Total	To institutions for juvenile delinquents		To penal institutions	
		Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
Male					
1923—first 6 months	10,284	7,367	71.6	2,917	28.4
1910	21,982	11,472	52.2	10,510	47.8
Female					
1923—first 6 months	2,426	1,953	80.5	473	19.5
1910	3,440	2,083	60.6	1,357	39.4

The percentage of colored juvenile delinquents 10 to 17 years of age was considerably lower in 1923 than in 1910 — 20.7 as compared with 29.5.

The number of white juvenile delinquents of these ages admitted to institutions per 100,000 population of the same age and color was practically the same in 1923 as in 1910 — 140 in 1923 and 138.6 in 1910. The ratio for colored juvenile delinquents was markedly lower in 1923 — 279.3 as compared with 398, a reduction of 29.8 per cent.

Almost three-fourths of the colored juvenile delinquents admitted to institutions in 1910 had been committed to penal institutions. In 1923, as Table 49 shows, the proportion had been reduced to one-half. Even so, it is far in excess of the proportion of white delinquents admitted to penal institutions — one-fifth in 1923 and somewhat over one third in 1910.²

26. Remedial Measures. — Society copes with the great problem of crime and juvenile delinquency by punishing the guilty person by fine or imprisonment, or by inflicting the death penalty. There has been a gradual toning down of the attitude of severity toward the criminal. In the Middle Ages cruel tortures were inflicted which would not be tolerated today. In fact, it is generally held that society has passed through four stages in its attitude toward punish-

¹ Includes 49 admitted to Georgia State Reformatory, classified in 1910 with reformatories for adults or for adults and juveniles, but which receives juveniles only.

² *Children under Institutional Care*, p. 303. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Washington, 1927.

ment of the criminal. The first stage is that of retribution, based on the "eye-for-an-eye" concept of vengeance. The criminal was punished in order that society or the person injured might be to some extent "avenged." The second attitude may be called that of repression, inasmuch as the penalty was believed to exercise a wholesome restraining influence upon others inclined to violate the law, and deter them from so doing. The third stage is reformation, punishment is meted out in order to bring the malefactor to a sense of duty, to cause him to mend his ways, and so to become again a worthy and self-respecting member of his group. And now, it is said, we are in the period of prevention. We do not so much seek to "punish" the criminal, as to protect society and to abolish more and more those social causes which lead to crime.

No doubt these "four stages" may be read out of the changing attitude of society toward punishment. The phrases adopted have been used by writers at different epochs on the theories of punishment. The stages, however, merge into one another, and even today, when a man is condemned for long years at hard labor in a state prison, we may say that to some extent society is "avenged" upon the wrong-doer.

27. Capital Punishment.—One very happy development of the idea of punishment toward the saner and more scientific vision of today we must register. This is the reduction of the immense number of crimes for which capital punishment was formerly inflicted. At one time there were seventeen capital offenses in Pennsylvania, while most of the New England states had twelve. Strong arguments both for and against capital punishment have been offered. Referring to a celebrated case in which two young men of Chicago, both of them university students, escaped the death penalty for a heinous crime and received life sentence in the Joliet State Penitentiary, Professor Gillin says: "There seems very little reason why the State should keep two such men alive in the face of the social resentment which their deed excited. No matter how well they work or how well they behave themselves in prison, they can never repay society for the damage they have done not only to the family of the victim but to the humanitarian sentiments which lie at the basis of our society."¹ This opinion embodies a wholesome attitude toward the question of capital punishment and is, no doubt, shared by many.

¹ *Criminology*, p. 364.

28. Religion and Crime.—It has been wrongly asserted that religion exercises no compelling force as a preventive of crime. To answer this charge Fr Leo Kalmer, chaplain of the Illinois State Penitentiary, made a thorough study of the question. His position as chaplain gave him unusually good opportunities to find out what influence church-going and religious instruction in youth exert on criminal conduct. Fr Kalmer was especially desirous to answer the charge that young men of the Catholic Church figured prominently on the roster of prisoners. He said:

"Do these official figures conclusively show that people are better without religion? Do they really prove that religion breeds criminals? Without the least fear of contradiction we deny this, because the comparison contains a sophism. For the church affiliations of prison records and the church affiliation of the general population are two entirely different things. In the United States Census, church affiliation means some kind of real, personal connection with religion. But in the penitentiary records, to have church affiliation it suffices that you once joined a church, though it be five or twenty-five or fifty years since you have set your foot inside a church or performed any religious duty. Again, here it suffices that your parents professed some religion, though you never did. It suffices that you express your choice or preference. And this mere preference is recorded in prison records as church affiliation."¹

TOPICS FOR DISCUSSION

- 1 Define a social problem
- 2 Is crime on the increase in our country?
- 3 Why is it difficult to secure accurate statistics in the matter of crime?
- 4 Distinguish between vice, sin, and crime
- 5 Give a classification of the various kinds of crime
- 6 In spite of the changing concept of "crime" is there an immutable standard of moral right and moral wrong?
- 7 It is often said that certain tribes, like the Eskimos, kill their old people when the latter become a burden. Is this true?
- 8 What are some of the causes of crime?
- 9 Is there such a monster as a "born" criminal?
- 10 What is Dr Goring's statement on Lombroso's anthropological theory of crime?

¹ Quoted in Spalding, *Social Problems and Agencies*, p 265. A further development of the subject treated in this chapter will be found in Part VI, Chapters VI, VII

- 11 Show how the theory of "climatic influences on crime" has been overstated
- 12 Do mental factors play any part in the causation of crime?
- 13 What do some of the state surveys of institutions for delinquents show as to "mental diagnosis" of inmates?
- 14 What influence has "bad home environment" on crime?
- 15 What is meant by lax court procedure in the punishment of crime?
- 16 Is it true that the immigrant adds a larger number of persons to our prison population than the native-born?
- 17 Give some of the characteristics of the juvenile court
- 18 What are the four stages of society's attitude towards punishment of the criminal?
- 19 Is the state justified in punishing offenders?
- 20 Catholic ethics teaches that the state is justified in inflicting the death penalty for murder Discuss the question
- 21 Do you favor the parole system if properly applied?
- 22 Some professors in non-Catholic colleges deny the free will of man Does such teaching tend to endanger society?
- 23 Some criminologists claim that offenders against the law are weak-minded and irresponsible people, and therefore there should be no punishment What must be the necessary results of such a doctrine?
- 24 There are more murders in Chicago and New York each year than in England, Scotland, and Ireland Discuss the causes

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CHAPTER II

POVERTY AND PAUPERISM¹

1. Poverty an Age-Old Problem.—The problem of poverty receives extensive treatment in every book on social pathology, that is, on those social conditions which ought to be removed from society. Poverty is one of our main social problems, and some apostles of progress frankly regard the removal of this evil as the main purpose of all social and philanthropic endeavors.

In the very statement of the problem we differ from many who have written on the subject. We call it an "age-old problem," whereas Gillin says that "poverty and dependency did not appear as social problems until tribal society began to give place to civil society."² The fact is that even among primitives some are poor according to their own standards, and wealth is regarded as the stepping stone to tribal honor and position. This is the case among the tribes of the northern Pacific coast from Oregon to Alaska. They have a winter ceremonial custom called the "potlatch," marked by the giving away of quantities of goods, commonly blankets. The one who is too poor to give at least one such feast in his lifetime is held in little esteem.

The Bible as well as the Vedas, the sacred books of ancient India, frequently refers to the problem of poverty. The latter contain many hymns to the gods, asking them to be propitious and to send wealth, especially abundance of cattle, to their petitioners.

2. Is Poverty an Inevitable Condition for Many?—As we shall see later on, some cases of poverty are due to inefficiency and to personality defects. These shortcomings are deep-rooted, perhaps congenital, and may thus handicap an individual for life. In this case some amount of poverty is bound to result. In this sense, too, there is justification of our Lord's saying, "the poor you have always with you." However, it would be entirely amiss to use this

¹ A further development of the subject treated in this chapter will be found in Part VI, Chapters I, II, IV.

² *Poverty and Dependency*, p. 3.

saying as an excuse for neglecting to remove, as much as possible, the causes of poverty. For as Dr John A. Ryan says "This sentence was obviously addressed to the disciples, not to the whole world. Until the words have been authoritatively given a universal application, the repetition of them as an explanation of current poverty, or as an argument against the abolition of poverty, will be neither convincing nor edifying."

3. Changing Attitude Toward Poverty.—It is true that formerly there was an easy-going attitude toward poverty and a vague, if not openly expressed, belief that poverty was a necessary condition in human society. With the development of the science of political economy, the application of new means and methods of giving relief in public catastrophes, the more scientific coordination of all welfare agencies, and finally the development of the "social sense," the forces at the disposal of society for wrestling with poverty, are more adequate than several generations ago. There is a clear recognition that poverty is not an independent social phenomenon but that it is linked up with other processes that are at work in every community. We do not, however, share the optimistic view of T. N. Carver that "poverty is as unnecessary as malaria or yellow fever," or that of Robert Hunter, who thinks that "the coming hundred years should see poverty practically eradicated from the American domain."

4. Poverty and Pauperism.—We must distinguish carefully between poverty and pauperism. The latter denotes a more abject condition than the former. It is the state of those who are destitute of the means of support and are a charge upon the community. This is the form of dependence that ought not to exist in a community which possesses natural resources and in which some kind of employment can be found. It is that degree of dependence for which even the older economists scored society and social conditions. Thus Whately condemns a form of relief because "it engenders pauperism." It may be added that this social plague is unwisely encouraged by blind sympathy, that is, by promiscuous giving.

Poverty, on the other hand, is that condition in which a person is unable to obtain those necessities which will permit him to maintain a state of physical efficiency. In other words, it is an economic social condition, in which persons have not the means to maintain health and that degree of well-being required to live

properly in their state of life. All who do not receive sufficient wages to keep up a minimum standard of efficiency may be said to be on the poverty line. Dr John A. Ryan clarifies this definition when he says that "poverty denotes that more or less prolonged condition in which a person is without some of those goods essential to normal health and strength, an elementary degree of comfort and right moral life."

5. Changing Concepts of Poverty.—Poverty is, of course, a relative term, as the things "necessary for normal health and strength" may be different for different individuals. A person living in a certain environment today, with all that is considered needful for a "normal life" in his community, and therefore not "poor," might be considered so in another community. The Bedouin or the Arabian is content with a meager diet of olives and figs and does not partake of the variety of food at the command of our city dwellers. Yet if he has that slender fare, he is well content and cannot be called poor. Fairchild offers some examples from our social conditions. In a community where young people generally go to college after finishing high school, it might be a sign of "poverty" of the parents not to send their children to college. But thirty years ago a minority of high-school pupils took up college work, and at that time a son's failure to receive higher education would not be construed as a sign of the poverty of his parents.

Again, as regards furnishing of homes today and the possession of certain facilities for travel, we are far beyond the standard of half a century ago. Could we therefore call a family "poor" which does not have certain furnishings and equipment? It all depends on a standard which is subject to change and differs according to time and place.

6. Extent of Poverty.—Professor R. T. Ely in an article on "Pauperism in the United States,"¹ basing his data on statistics of charitable aid in certain areas, concluded that the number of paupers in 1891 amounted to three million. Robert Hunter, arguing from the general distress, the number of evictions, the pauper burials in potter's field, overcrowding and unsanitary living conditions, the prevalence of tuberculosis and the amount of unemployment, concluded that in 1904 not less than ten million persons were dependent upon the public for relief.

Charles Booth, who made a profound study of poverty in Lon-

¹ *North American Review*, Vol. CLII, April 1891, pp. 395-409.

don, found that thirty per cent of the people of that city were living in poverty, that is, they were insufficiently provided with clothing, food, and shelter. We make a distinction between the "poor" and the "very poor." The former may be described as living under a struggle to obtain the necessities of life to make both ends meet, while the "very poor" live in a state of "chronic want."¹

7. Three Theories of Poverty.—There has been considerable discussion among economists and students of society why, in a world possessing such ample resources and such abundant sources of food and all other necessities of life, there should always be vast numbers of persons dependent on public or private charity. Three ultimate causes of poverty have been proposed. The first is that of Malthus, with whose theory on population we have become familiar. In his famous *Essay on Population*, published in 1798, he ascribes all misery to his theory that population tends ever to press more and more upon the food supply. Karl Marx brings in his famous theory of wages and says that human want and privation are due to low wages, these result from the unjust appropriation by the capitalist of the fruits of labor whereby the wage earner receives just enough to maintain existence. Henry George says that the "single tax," that is, the tax on land, would remove all economic misery. The landlord appropriates for himself the unearned increment on land value which in turn produces economic stress and poverty.

But these three theories are all one-sided, for poverty existed even when none of these factors was predominant. They are like other "theories" in that the one proposing them sees all things only from one point of view. It is clear then, that to find out the causes of poverty we must take a more realistic view of this distressing social problem.

8. Causes of Poverty.—Before enumerating those causes which lie either in the individual or in society, we must refer to the physical causes, or causes in nature, and for which society is not responsible. We all know of the havoc caused by disastrous floods in China and Japan, which devastate the rice fields and plunge whole districts into poverty and want. It is not the fault of these people that the Red-Cross organization is not equipped in their country to offer speedy and adequate help and to ward off the effects of the

¹ *Life and Labor of the People in London*. First series *Poverty*, Vol. I "East, Central and South London," pp 28-72

calamity In Ireland the failure of the potato crop in the forties caused extreme sufferings Earthquakes, great storms, and unproductive soil are likewise such natural causes of poverty The Indians of the arid regions of Arizona were, and still are to some extent, dependent for their livelihood upon favorable weather conditions The irrigation system has now helped them to fight a hostile environment The Seri Indians of Tiburon Island in the Gulf of California, belonging to the state of Sonora, Mexico, were engaged in a constant struggle against an unpropitious soil Here it is only the skill and science of man that can overcome the poverty-producing factor

9. Subjective and Objective Causes. — We come to causes that are more within the domain of sociology when we take up the subjective and objective causes of poverty They are also called individual and social We must remember, too, that causes and effects of poverty are intimately related Thus sickness is often a cause of poverty, but poverty, in turn, may be responsible for sickness Again, shabby clothing has often debarred a man from finding a job But the poor clothes are, no doubt, the result of being poor

10. Sickness. — Sickness looms large as a cause of poverty A sick person loses vitality and lacks initiative This is especially deplorable in an economic and industrial society like the present in which the stress of competition is fierce and constant We have all heard of the long line of unemployed standing at the factory gates, or at the workshops While a few of the more robust were chosen, the others were turned away Webb in *Prevention of Destitution* says that of the three or four million in destitution in England, Ireland, and Scotland, it may be said of one-third that "the recruiting sergeant who brings them in, is sickness" Malaria is one of the scourges that afflicts many of the working classes Devine¹ says that "it not only increases the hardship of wage earners, causing irregularity of work and reducing physical energy, but it makes precisely the difference between self-support and dependence for many of those who are already near this dreaded border line It attacks adults, as well as children, and its full effects upon the economic position of the family may not be obvious until many years after the fever has been acquired"

11. Serious Accidents. — The holocaust which modern industry

¹ *Principles of Relief*, p 51

and modern transportation demand is enormous. The number of those killed or maimed every year in shops, foundries, mines, quarries, factories, or on the streets and railroads, mounts into the tens of thousands. Thus far our traffic regulations and "safety-first" principles have not achieved the desired result. A serious accident means the temporary or permanent loss of industrial efficiency on the part of the one injured. When the breadwinner of a family is thus injured, the consequences are especially distressing.

12. Drink. — That intemperance is a prolific cause of poverty, and often of pauperism, is universally admitted. This deplorable economic result of intemperance has lent strength to the prohibition movement. In England economists always give high rank to liquor as a cause of destitution. Mgr Henry Parkinson says, "The fact that excessive drinking is a cause of poverty is notorious, and the average of over six shillings (about \$1.50) a week per family for alcoholic drinks clearly suggests how much is foolishly wasted by the worker."¹

However, by far too much stress is laid on intemperance when it is said that it is responsible for most cases of poverty. Every social welfare worker knows of scores of cases of poverty in which indulgence in liquor had no part.

13. Mental Incapacity. — That mental defect or incapacity plays a large part in the cause of poverty is evident. Now that "intelligence tests" and "efficiency standards" are applied, the chances for some persons of less than average mentality to secure and hold a position are more precarious than formerly. This is especially true of the big city, which, as has been well said, is made in the interest of the physically strong and mentally alert.

14. Waste and Extravagance. — The poor are often guilty of unwise expenditure of hard-earned money. For instance, there may be a family in which there are three to five children. One of them, though showing no musical ability whatever, is sent to a private music teacher and thus adds a needless burden to the family exchequer. The insane rivalry in modern society of "keeping up appearances" and of having what the neighbors have also adds to financial burdens. Hence Professor Marshall of England long ago spoke of waste of wealth "as one of the important causes of poverty." This waste shows itself in extravagance in domestic arrangements as well as in unwise expenditure on dress and articles of

¹ *Primer of Social Science*, p. 236

living Perhaps the impetus given to household economy in our school programs will help to minimize this source of poverty

15. Degeneracy. — Different from mental incapacity is degeneracy, whether it be mental or moral It has been the cause of a vast amount of poverty, not to speak of the other kinds of social misery which it engenders Typical studies of degenerate families like the Jukes and the Kallikaks show that the volume of pauperism for which such families are responsible is enormous Degeneracy in both these cases was due to profligacy and was also associated with feeble-mindedness Doctor Dugdale, who is the author of the study on the Jukes, says that sensual vice precedes intemperance as a cause of the degradation of families

However, we must distinguish carefully between immoral conduct which characterizes dissolute characters and often leads to pauperism, and a certain absence of refinement or even freedom of speech, which may be found among some of the lower laboring classes Mr Amos G Warner does not make this distinction and thus falls into the ludicrous error of associating rough and uncouth conduct with licentiousness, making the former a cause of pauperism At least his unfortunate indictment of one class of hard-working men — railroad day laborers — who are maintaining one branch of our industrial life would cause one to think that he does not properly differentiate between uncouthness and licentiousness when he says "Railroad day laborers and others of a similar class are very commonly kept from rising in the industrial scale by their sensuality, and it is this and the resulting degeneration that finally converts many into lazy vagabonds The inherent uncleanness of their minds prevents them from rising above the rank of day laborers, and finally incapacitates them even for that position"¹ Railroad day laborers can no more be accused of having "inherently unclean minds" than any other group of working men

16. Social or Objective Causes. — By this phrase we mean social conditions making for poverty and for which society rather than the individual is responsible A low wage is generally cited among these causes Hence it is that there has been so much agitation in recent years about the "living wage" and the "minimum wage" When we remember that the cost of living has risen in all parts of the country, we can readily understand the relation of low wages to destitution. Especially since the World War has the inflation of

¹ *American Charities*, revised edition, p 82

prices been marked, and since that time too we have had the many "budgetary studies" on standards of living

17. Unemployment and Casual Employment.—The dread specter of being out of work has haunted many a good member of society and is a frequent cause of economic distress. Unemployment has been defined as forced or involuntary abstention from remunerative labor during normal working time. Unemployment, in turn, like poverty itself, may be due to individual or social causes. The former are mainly incompetency or some personality defect, the latter, faults in our complicated industrial machinery, and in methods of production and distribution.

Even if we eliminate those who do not want to work and those who are willing to do only that work which is to their liking, there is a vast amount of unemployment on the part of those who are ready to accept any honest occupation. For "even the phenomenal years of 1917 and 1918, at the climax of war-time industrial activities, when plants were working to capacity and when unemployment reached its lowest point in twenty years, there was a margin of unemployment amounting to more than a million men. This margin is fairly permanent, seemingly one or more wage earners out of every forty are always out of work."¹

18. The Malingerer.—Modern psychology has made us more familiar with the malingerer, the person who feigns illness or disability in order to shirk work or what is considered a disagreeable duty. That some poverty is due to this shiftlessness or want of application to duty is evident. On the other hand, we can imagine hardly anything more humdrum than the manufacturing processes in some of the larger industrial plants. This monotonous toil on the part of many workers may be the penalty we must pay for our mechanical civilization, but we cannot overlook its deadening effect on the worker himself.

19. Bad Living Conditions.—These are both a cause and an effect of poverty. It has been shown by statistics that higher chances of longevity and a better physical condition, as well as lower percentage of infant mortality, are found in districts where there are good sanitary and housing conditions. Bad living conditions, on the other hand, increase the danger of falling a victim to disease. Dr. Devine says that "from the tenements there comes

¹ Douglas, Hitchcock, Atkins, *The Worker in Modern Economic Society*, p. 481.

a stream of sick, helpless people to our hospitals and dispensaries, few of whom are able to afford the luxury of a private physician, and some houses are in such bad sanitary condition that few people can be seriously ill in them and get well, from them also comes a host of paupers and charity seekers " ¹

20. Other Social Causes. — The cost of war and preparedness for future wars, hard times, and financial depression are other causes of poverty. The influx of immigration, especially from southern and eastern Europe, bringing in a large supply of unskilled labor has, no doubt, worked hardship among native wage earners, who find it hard to compete with the immigrant who is used to a lower standard of living.

Before concluding this brief enumeration of causes we must mention three which, arising in an individual, bring hardship upon those dependent upon him. These are desertion of wife and children by their natural and legally responsible breadwinner, death or imprisonment of the breadwinner, and old age rendering a husband, or one responsible for others, unable to work for their support.

21. Remedial Measures. — Parmelee is of the opinion that poverty can be prevented mainly and perhaps only by the progress of society toward a democratic organization inspired by humanitarian ideals. This remedy is not adequate to remove the causes of poverty. By a democratic organization he presumably means a society with equal economic opportunities for all and a government in which all citizens share. But such a community, even if dominated by "humanitarian ideals," will have to reckon with the "socially inadequate" and with "social failures." The influences of heredity will not be eliminated, and there will be difference of opinion as to what extent "humanitarian ideals" could prompt citizens to help all the socially inadequate.

The same writer speaks of "the Christian opposition to humanitarianism" ² Inasmuch as Christianity promotes all the really worth-while contributions of humanitarianism to social happiness, and even urges work for the socially inadequate upon its followers, this objection is invalid.

22. Humanitarian Work of the Church. — In his *Chapters in Social History*, Rev. H. S. Spalding points out the splendid contributions of the Church to organized charity and to cultural advances.

¹ *Principles of Relief*, p. 64

² *Poverty and Social Progress*, p. 242

These are historic facts and cannot be denied. The evidence in Chapter V on "The Care of the Sick" is alone sufficient to give to the Church the title of "protector of the sick and the friendless."

23. Social Legislation.—This is not only a remedial but also a preventive measure against poverty. It were desirable that all efforts at combating poverty were preventive. But at present we must be satisfied with certain measures which are at best remedial. Social legislation here means legislation in favor of the poorer classes. They have a right to such protective measures, inasmuch as they suffer most from the ill effects of our industrial and capitalistic order.

Social legislation is especially directed toward hours and conditions of labor, such as ventilation, overcrowding, protection against fire, etc. It is well worth noting that one of the first active proponents of such wise social legislation was Bishop Emanuel von Ketteler of Mayence, Germany, who in 1846 drafted and supported laws for regulating hours of work, for prohibiting work on Sundays, for promoting welfare work for women, etc. The "Catholic Reconstruction Program" issued in 1919 also proposes such measures as social insurance, minimum wage, cooperation, comanagement, etc.

24. Indoor and Outdoor Relief.—The State has established numerous agencies for helping the dependent classes. Indoor relief is that given in one of its institutions—poorhouse, sanitarium, orphan asylum, etc. Outdoor relief is relief given to the destitute outside of an institution. The task of helping the poor outside of institutions is delicate and difficult, and demands much tact and prudence.

25. The Elberfeld System.—In Germany the state administers outdoor relief to the temporarily indigent. Volunteer workers, under official direction, have charge of the relief work, the help being generally given in money. The number of cases handled by each visitor is not more than four. "The fundamental principle of the Elberfeld System might also be expressed thus: thorough examination of each individual dependent, continued careful guardianship during the period of dependence, and constant effort to help him regain economic independence."¹

26. The St. Vincent de Paul Society.—It is not so well known that relief work for the needy, along the lines of the Elberfeld system, had been carried on by the St. Vincent de Paul Society, a

¹ Ford, James, *Social Problems and Social Policy*, p. 695.

Catholic association, before the Elberfeld system had been established. Only in this case the relief in money, food, and service was not given by the state, but by volunteers, members of the society. Moreover, the St. Vincent de Paul Society did not encourage promiscuous giving, but examined every case of destitution through a visiting committee, which reported to the council of the society.

27. Almsgiving.—One of the most misunderstood manifestations of mediæval charity and to some extent of the social work of our time is the "giving of alms" from a motive of supernatural charity. We make bold to say that not one of the many American texts on sociology now used in our schools shows a real understanding of what it means "to give alms from a motive of Divine charity."

Fairchild¹ may serve as an example of this misunderstanding of the position of those Christians who give alms from such a motive. "In the early Christian Church," he says, "charitable giving was regarded as highly meritorious, and the notion grew until in the Middle Ages the very act of giving came to be regarded as a means of acquiring merit, irrespective of the results of the gift, or the deserts of the recipient."

This statement can be readily answered. Modern methods of scientific social investigation had not yet been established. If the "giver" had definitely known that the alms would be wrongfully used, or would encourage the recipient in a life of vice and idleness, the gift would, no doubt, have been withheld. But giving a dole to a person supposedly in distress is certainly a good and meritorious deed. The fact that the money is given from motive of love of God, as well as of love of the neighbor, does not depreciate the act in any way.

Dr. Devine is still more severe in his condemnation of "charity" which prompts so much of the most useful and far-reaching social work even today. "The idea of charity, attractive and inspiring at one stage of social development," he writes,² "becomes in time obnoxious, and as a permanent element in the relation between classes, it becomes an anomaly."

So long as we have with us the same old story of sin and sadness, of human folly and temptation, so long will there be need of those who are willing to work for and, if need be, even sacrifice

¹ *Applied Sociology*, p. 168

² *Principles of Relief*, p. 12

themselves for others, out of a motive of charity. For occasions will arise when scientific philanthropy, powerful and well equipped though it be, will not be able to render just that kind of service and sympathy which are born only of the spirit of charity.

Mgr Parkinson has forcibly defined charity as a motive for helping "social failures." "The foundation of Christian charity," he says,¹ "is a definite teaching with regard to the inherent or potential dignity of every human individual. The motive of charity is not a man's lowliness, but his greatness, not his want, but his native riches and nobility, not that he is below us, but that he is our equal, not that he is the object of our compassion, but our love."

Again we will think better of charity when we recall that this virtue generally has one individual as its object. Social work, on the other hand, may be considered complementary to charity. No one who gives help to an individual from charity thinks light of social work. Social work may, of course, be animated by charity, it acts rather upon the framework of society and considers the welfare of groups. Charity, again, tries to *relieve* poverty and destitution, social work goes further and seeks to *prevent* maladjustments in the social body by trying to remove their causes. Rev Dr Kerby² has shown admirably how charity and modern scientific helpfulness or social work supplement one another and that they both have their sphere in our highly complex society.

28. Special Classes of Dependents.—The aged poor have always presented a special problem to those interested in welfare work. In England old age is responsible for eight-ninths of the pauperism of those over sixty-five years of age. In our own country there were, according to the 1910 census, 3,949,524 persons above sixty-four years of age. Of this number it has been estimated that more than a million and a quarter are in want, and are supported by charity, public or private. "One person in eighteen of our wage earners reaches the age of sixty-five in penury, and the indications are that the proportion of indigent old is increasing."³

Society wrestles with the maladjustments of old age by the almshouse, by industrial pensions, by state pensions and insurance. But in some cases all these will not be able to give the service and protection which society ought to extend to those helpless in old age.

¹ A Primer of Social Science, p. 241

² *The Social Mission of Charity*

³ Squier, *Old Age Dependency in the United States*, p. 324

As regards "the almshouse," it has been said that it is at once "a haven of rest for the aged and an object of their greatest dread. At its worst it is a country's human dumping ground. At its best it is a public home for needy old people"¹ Unfortunately, it is quite often not "at its best"

29. The Homes of the Little Sisters of the Poor.—The Church has always thought tenderly of the aged poor and of old parents neglected by their children. Throughout the history of the Christian Church religious communities of men and women have devoted themselves to this work. In our day we have the homes of the Little Sisters of the Poor which have solved the problem of taking adequate care of the aged poor. Without regard to creed or nationality these devoted charity workers take in old people who are in need of a home. They are at least trying to do what they can to help society to solve this most urgent duty of providing for its old and feeble members.

30. Dependent Children.—This has often been called the century of the child on account of the many agencies now under social control for promoting child welfare. In bygone centuries the lot of handicapped and crippled children, especially among non-Christian people, was often harsh and cruel. Christianity with its inspiring teaching of the immortality of the human soul checked abortion and infanticide among the nations converted from paganism. Orphan asylums were one of the earliest charitable foundations of the Church. William Hartpole Lecky, the English historian, says of them "This minute and scrupulous care for human life and human virtue in the humblest forms, in the slave, the gladiator, the savage, or the infant, was indeed wholly foreign to the genius of paganism. It was produced by the Christian doctrine of the inestimable value of each immortal soul. It is the distinguishing and transcendent characteristic of every society into which the spirit of Christianity has passed"²

31. Orphan Asylums.—Though the training given to children deprived of one or both parents in our orphan asylums may not meet all legitimate expectations it has equipped many children for a useful career in after life, who without that training might have become a menace to society. The Catholic Church has deserved well of society for the many orphan homes in all sections of our

¹ Queen, Stuart S., and Mann, Delbert M., *Social Pathology*, p. 230

² *History of European Morals*, Vol. II, p. 34

country, generally conducted by women consecrated to this service for life

32. Epileptics, Drug Addicts. — Institutional care in the best possible environment is the means by which society is discharging its duty to these social failures. Epilepsy is a nervous disease whose cause is not as yet thoroughly understood. Momentary loss of consciousness marks its milder forms, and convulsive fits are associated with its severer manifestations. As criminal tendencies may be latent in such cases, and manifest themselves unexpectedly, custodial care in a home or in special institutions is necessary.

We are accustomed to speak of "the narcotic peril," and the phrase does not even fully cover the untold amount of individual and social misery caused by improper use of narcotics and drug addiction. The use of drugs is a powerful factor of crime, and therefore any check of society on this evil is well worth while. There are thousands of dope peddlers, and many addicts spend as high as fifteen dollars a day to satisfy their craving for drugs. If the money is not at hand, the victims will resort to crime. Institutional care is, therefore, recommended also for this group of social failures. According to late statistics, there are 181 private hospitals and sanitariums for the cure of drug addiction. The best possible remedy would be the passing of a "drug habit" act in every state, by virtue of which every "dope fiend" could be confined till cured.

33. The Christian Idea of Poverty. — But after we have proposed ever so many measures to reduce or even to abolish poverty, the fact remains that inequality of natural talents and abilities will always bring about inequality in worldly possessions. Would it not be worth while to try to realize once more the blessings that spring from freedom from the care of large possessions? Christ taught us not to fix our hearts on treasures that pass away. Even Buddha told his disciples that the worst of all evil is desire, especially the craving for wealth and possessions. William James says that our generation has a morbid fear of poverty and recommends that we ponder the "social blessings" of poverty. He writes "When one sees the way in which wealth-getting enters as an ideal into the very marrow of our generation, one wonders whether a revival of the belief in poverty as a worthy religious vocation may not be the 'transformation of military courage,' and the spiritual reform which our time stands most in need of"¹

¹ *The Varieties of Religious Experience*, p. 367

The Christian teaching on poverty will, if rightly understood, always enable a person to bear up under the hardship which a modicum of this world's goods often implies

TOPICS FOR DISCUSSION

- 1 Why is poverty a social problem?
- 2 Has poverty always been prevalent in society?
- 3 Distinguish between poverty and pauperism
- 4 What is the extent of poverty in your community? What is being done to alleviate it?
- 5 What is the extent of poverty in the United States?
- 6 What is meant by saying that poverty is a relative term?
- 7 When is a person poor?
- 8 What is meant by individual and subjective causes of poverty? What by social and objective causes?
- 9 Is it proper to speak of poverty as a form of "social maladjustment"? Why?
- 10 How did the World War increase the amount of poverty?
- 11 How does society cope with the problem of poverty?
- 12 Explain three "theories of poverty"
- 13 Some social workers and writers object to giving alms from a motive of "charity" Why is this motive laudable?
- 14 Enumerate some of the beneficent social works undertaken and successfully carried out through this motive
- 15 Will the person who strives to alleviate poverty and distress from a motive of charity thereby become less efficient as a social worker?
- 16 Does not poverty at times have a beneficial effect in the development of character?
- 17 What would you gather of the condition of the poor in England from a reading of Dickens's *Oliver Twist*?
- 18 Can poverty ever be entirely removed from society?

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CHAPTER III

HEREDITY AND EUGENICS

Theories of social progress are many, and have been proposed with more enthusiasm than wisdom by their respective advocates. One of the most discussed factors of race improvement is that which is now treated in books of sociology either under the title of "eugenics" or "heredity." Some authors, however, who consider that the main purpose of sociology is the scientific study of group phenomena, discuss the facts of heredity under a chapter on "groups and Biologic Factors."

Of the three biologic factors that confront the sociologist in his study of human society — variability, selection, and transmission — the second is the most important in the present discussion. It means the separation of those forms of animal and human life, which are to survive, from those which are to perish. Students of human heredity likewise understand by the term the gradual development of differences which are favorable to the life of the individual, with corresponding gradual extinction of those peculiarities which are unfavorable to that end, also the transmission of characters of a desirable kind to offspring.

1. Importance of the Theory of Selection in Studies of Heredity. — Students of social progress naturally desire to eliminate from the social body those factors which retard the development of the best physical, moral, and mental qualities, and to build up those which, on the other hand, make for a better race along these lines. Now biological research has shown that many human traits — desirable and undesirable — are innate and heritable. Thus it is held that qualities retarding individuals, and therefore obstructing social progress, may be hereditary. This means they have existed in an ancestor of the individual so handicapped.

One of the stock proofs of the evils of tainted heredity is found in a study by Dr. H. H. Goddard of the Vineland Training School for the Feeble-minded, at Vineland, New Jersey.¹ It is a study of

¹ *The Kallikak Family*, 1912

a family of hereditary defectives. Émile Zola, the French realist, had attempted a similar study many years earlier, in the Rougon-Macquart series of twenty volumes, and though his pages are shot through with lurid descriptions of moral depravity, they are not without value as a picture of tainted family life through several generations.

2. A Study in Heredity.—Martin Kallikak, the progenitor of the long line of imbeciles, paupers, degenerates, and social failures, married a feeble-minded girl who bore to him a son, Martin, Jr., also feeble-minded. Of this son 480 descendants have been traced. Thirty per cent of this number, 143 in all, were feeble-minded. But later on, the elder Martin married again and the offspring of this union showed no trace of degeneracy. In fact, Dr. Goddard says of the fine type of descendants of this second union: "Indeed, in this family and its collateral branches, we find nothing but good citizenship. There are doctors, lawyers, judges, educators, traders, landholders, in short, respectable citizens, men and women prominent in every phase of social life. They have scattered over the United States and are prominent in their communities wherever they have gone. Half a dozen towns in New Jersey are named from the families into which Martin's descendants have married." Of the 496 known descendants in this family only two were deficient in mentality, but not feeble-minded.

However, the assurance with which these figures are often quoted in sociologic texts is apt to lead to false and illogical conclusions. In another chapter of this book we have treated of the force and influence of environment on behavior. Sutherland,² discussing the use of a family tree as a method of proving the inheritance of criminality, says that from the point of view of logic this method is very unsatisfactory. For "every child in these families (the Jukes, the Kallikaks, and the Zero family) was subjected to the influence of environment as well as of heredity, and the environment in almost every case was bad during the early formative period of life. Even the children adopted in other homes were almost without exception removed from their parental homes so late in childhood that the effects of parental training and other home conditions were already very important."

Goring, who has helped to overthrow Lombroso's unscientific

¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 29-30

² *Criminology*, p. 113

conjecture of the "born criminal" and the anthropological criminal type,¹ was less successful in his attempt to establish a theory of his own — that criminal tendencies are inherited and that environment is of little importance. His contentions have been refuted in turn by other writers, notably by Sutherland, and by Healy and Spaulding. Sutherland asks "When one speaks of the inheritance of criminality, just what does he consider is inherited? Is it criminality, as such? Or is it some particular defect that expresses itself in the form of crime?"² Dr Healy and Dr Spaulding base their conclusion on a study of 668 cases. They say "Altogether, there seems to be no proof whatever from our extensive materials that there is such a thing as criminalistic inheritance, apart from some otherwise significant physical or mental trait, which in the offender and his forbears forms the basis of delinquency."³

Dr George W. Kirchwey, reviewing a recent work (*Crime and the Criminal*, by Philip Archibald Parsons) criticizes the author for leaning to the view that "'the bulk of our crime, perhaps nine-tenths,' is the work of persons suffering from pathological conditions. This [says Kirchwey] is a matter concerning which, in the present state of our knowledge, it is well to be wary."⁴

Great caution is necessary, therefore, in linking heredity with criminal conduct, or in assigning the former as the main cause of delinquency. The statement of Dr J. Arthur Thompson no doubt summarizes quite accurately the "facts of heredity." He says "The largest fact of heredity is that like tends to beget like. The heredity relation between successive generations is such that a general resemblance is sustained. A particular kind of organization, associated with a particular kind of activity, persists from generation to generation. These are simply different ways of saying the same thing, that all inborn characters (except sterility) are heritable and may be handed on. But 'may' cannot be changed into 'must,' for the unexpected often happens."⁵

3. Hereditary Factors as Causes of Pauperism. — It was to be

¹ Goring even refers to Lombroso's "criminal type" as an "anthropological monster, which has no existence in fact."

² *Criminology*, p. 116.

³ *Inheritance as a Factor in Criminology*. Reprinted from the Bulletin of the American Academy of Medicine, Vol. XV, February, 1914.

⁴ *The Survey*, October 15, 1927, p. 101.

⁵ *The Control of Life*.

expected that the modern "efficiency movement" which aims at maximum productive effort on the part of each individual would emphasize hereditary factors as causes of many "social failures" The aim of the modern school is "to make all men socially efficient" The lack of this efficiency is often attributed to "hereditary weakness" Gillin asks "Is lack of ability or lack of capacity for the important work of life also inherited? From all the evidence at hand now from the study of defectives of one kind or other, it seems that a categorical affirmative answer can be returned"¹

The proofs for the "affirmative answer" that there is a close relation between inherited incapacity and pauperism is found in researches along the lines already mentioned Besides the Kallikaks and the Jukes there have been published the records of the Tribe of Ishmael in Indiana, the Smoky Pilgrims in Kansas, of the Hill Folk, the Nam Family, Dwellers in the Vale of Siddem, etc The cumulative force of all these studies suggests that inheritance may be considered a factor in the causation of poverty and pauperism

4. The Laws of Heredity.—The question arises, whether besides the evidence of statistics and careful records of the influence of heredity in cases of mental deficiency, crime, and pauperism, we have any scientific basis for affirming the transmission of parental characteristics Such further evidence is afforded in the principles of transmission of hereditary traits worked out by Mendel, and now known as Mendelism or the Mendelian theory The "Mendelian Law of Alternative Inheritance" consists of the three principles of unit characters, of dominance, and of segregation The total inheritance of an individual is divisible into unit characters, each of which is, as a general rule, inherited independently of all other characters Any character may, therefore, be considered without reference to the others Spaulding and Healy present a good example of the study of separate characteristics in their paper "Inheritance as a Factor in Criminology"²

The transmission of any particular character is believed to be dependent upon the presence in the germ plasm of a unit of substance called a determiner The two determiners do not always assert themselves fully in any unit character, but may produce an

¹ *Poverty and Dependency*, p 57

² *Bulletin of the American Academy of Medicine*, February, 1914, Vol

intermediate trait If one condition or trait thrusts out another, the former is said to be "dominant," the latter "recessive", that is, one appears fully developed, the other is temporarily blotted out The principle of unit characters above referred to means that the heritage of an organism may be broken up into a number of characters which are inherited as a whole, though independently of all other characters They are not further divisible and, according to the Dutch botanist, De Vries, are "unit characters"

The principle of segregation means that "every individual germ cell is 'pure' with respect to any given unit character, even though it came from an 'impure' or hybrid parent In the germ cells of hybrids there is a separation of the determiners of contrasting characters so that different kinds of germ cells are produced, each of which is pure with regard to any given unit character This is the principle of segregation of unit characters, or of the 'purity' of the germ cells"¹

5. The Need for Artificial Selection.—These facts have led to the many plans now proposed for "improving the quality of the race," to many societies having that object in view, and to an ever-growing literature on the subject of race development That idiots and degenerates are an obstacle to social progress no one will deny The duty of society is to eliminate them by measures which are both scientific and in harmony with the strictest interpretation of what Mgr Parkinson calls "rights inherent to the living human subject" These "spring from the very constitution of man, and are in no way due to the enactment or concession of society"² The science of genetics, the biological science of heredity, gives to all those interested in social progress a firm foundation upon which to base further measures for human advance

6. What is Eugenics?—When we come to eugenics, the applied science of genetics, opinions differ widely Todd says that "by all odds eugenics is the most popular phase of the selection question under discussion in this generation"³ He also asserts that "much misconception and utter nonsense are current regarding the aim and methods of eugenics"

This is unfortunately true, and the "utter nonsense" of some of the eugenists has done not a little to cast discredit upon the whole

¹ Conklin, Edwin G., *Heredity and Environment*

² *A Primer of Social Science*, pp 34, 36

³ *Theories of Social Progress*, p 257

movement. If we hold to the definition first given by Sir Francis Galton, an English biologist who coined the term, perhaps social reformers of every school will be satisfied. This definition is that eugenics¹ is the "science which deals with all influences that improve the inborn qualities of a race, also with those that develop them to the utmost advantage."

But when programs were launched like that of Dr C. B. Davenport's "proper program for elimination of the unfit," dissenting voices arose in many quarters. Who are the "unfit"? Do not the apostles of eugenics take a materialistic view of life? Is that condition of humanity really the best possible in which each and every individual is "physically and mentally fit" or measures up fully to one or all "eugenic standards"? These were pertinent questions, and they could not be answered by saying that they were raised chiefly by "certain self-appointed watchdogs over public morality." Again, some of these critics of the more radical eugenic programs asked whether the presence of physical—and, within certain restrictions, even of moral—limitations in some individuals did not serve to develop fine latent qualities and virtues in the more favored members of our race? Much-needed social qualities and virtues of this kind—needful in every stage of human society—are sympathy, kindness, generosity, patience, tolerance, and readiness to help every weaker brother over the rougher stages of life's pilgrimage. No matter how this last question be answered, the fact is that suffering may be used as a stepping stone to higher development of character, both in him who suffers and in him who serves.

One of the most radical statements of principle for a eugenic program was made by a group of American geneticists. "For the purposes of eugenical study and in working out a policy of elimination, it seems fair to estimate the antisocial varieties of the American people at ten per cent of the total population, but even this is arbitrary. No matter in what stage of racial progress a people may be, it will always be desirable in the interests of still further advancement to cut off the lowest levels and to encourage fecundity among the more gifted."²

7. Criticism of an American Program.—Todd comments wisely on this program. "We shall want a very explicit definition

¹ Literally, *well-born*, from two Greek words meaning "well" and "born."

² *Bulletin 10-A of the Eugenics Record Office*

of 'undesirable hereditary potentialities' before legislation and courts and schools and the mores can be expected to sanction such a program " This "program" was to include segregation of the unfit, sterilization as a purely supplementary policy, and the encouragement of proper matings Todd also asks whether "after all, mere extinction of the known defectives will touch the core of the eugenics problem? Not at all Indeed, some critics hold that negative eugenics is not eugenics at all The defectives who would thus be exiled, so to speak, constitute but a tiny fraction of society, only one-half of one per cent" ¹

In other words, there is a multitude of individuals in every community who are "normal," but would not measure up to certain eugenic standards or would fail in "intelligence tests" Are they, or rather their possible future descendants, to be eliminated? Despite the vast amount of research that has been carried on in questions of heredity, we are still far from possessing those facts which justify some of the more radical "eugenic programs" For, as we read in a scientific journal

Contrary to a rather widespread belief, even the complete sterilization of all our mental defectives would not be successful in ridding the world of feeble-mindedness for more than a single generation This is the conclusion reached by the *Lancet*, foremost medical and surgical journal of England, in an editorial

"If these facts be so, then the much-advanced plan of some social reformers would come virtually to naught, for about seven per cent of us are unsuspected 'carriers' of feeble-mindedness, in whose children or grandchildren the latent quality would reappear Thus the work would have to be done all over again

"According to the principles of heredity first worked out by Mendel, the priest whose noted experiments with sweet peas put the science of genetics on a relatively mathematical basis, the mating of two apparently normal carriers will give one defective child in four, and half the children will again be carriers There is no known way of ascertaining which of us is an unsuspected carrier of feeble-mindedness

"Professor R C Plunkett calculated that it would take about eight thousand years to reduce the percentage of feeble-minded in population from the present three-tenths of one per cent to one in one hundred thousand, by segregating or sterilizing those who are themselves actually feeble-minded" ²

¹ *Op cit*, p 262

² *Scientific American*, October, 1926, p 299

8. Right and Wrong in Eugenic Measures. — The amelioration of social conditions through "race improvement" is one of the purposes most in view in all so-called eugenic programs. These programs range all the way from the ultraradical ones of G. B. Shaw's "complete return to the beast" to the more careful enforcement of marriage laws long existing in civilized countries.

What Shaw says brutally and openly, others have insinuated in suaver verbiage. This is merely "free love" unrestrained by law, human or divine. But this breaking down of all laws will not pave the way to social progress. The fault of these and similar dangerous, and really unsocial, eugenic programs lies in their utterly false misconception of the dignity and ultimate purpose of man. For man's body is wedded to a spiritual and immortal soul, and he is destined ultimately to continue his life in a world after this.

When Oswald Spengler wrote his indictment of modern civilization,¹ he did not point to any so-called eugenic measures which would be adequate to meet such a calamity as the destruction of western culture. His knowledge of history convinced him that social salvation could never be the result of the eugenic gospel of G. B. Shaw and his kind. Spengler thought that culture moves in cycles and that our civilization had reached a zenith and was verging on a decline. But if true social advance instead of social decay is to characterize our century, we must apply rational eugenic principles. It is gratifying to observe that a saner view regarding eugenic proposals is beginning to obtain.

9. The Root Cause of Social Misery. — A competent authority in this field writes as follows: "There can be no question as to the need of eugenics — a science which will enable us to restore proper conditions of life to the nation and eliminate all diseases which are really preventable. It is a very modern and pressing problem, and our quarrel with the eugenicist does not so much concern his aim as his methods. The chief difference between the eugenics of the modern school and the eugenics of the Catholic Church is that the modern school is simply not ultimate enough. It does not realize how far-reaching is its much-vaunted principle that there are causes of causes. The Church, however, goes to the ultimate source of things and declares the root cause of degeneracy, both physical and moral, to be sin, and the root cause of betterment to be virtue."²

¹ *Der Untergang des Abendlandes*, "The Downfall of the West."

² Gerrard, Thomas J., *The Church and Eugenics*, p. 33.

This brave declaration will, of course, not be accepted by the behaviorist or any one who looks upon man as nothing more than a bundle of nerves and neurons reacting to stimuli. But it is a rational view of the problem, while the attitude of those to whom man is only a highly organized brute is unscientific and unsound.

10. Some Race Myths. — It was to be expected that the wide field of hereditary influences on mental and physical qualities would lead to absurd theories of "racial superiority." Some of the leading American anthropologists, like Boas, Goldenweiser, and Hrdlicka, have rejected the unscientific theory. Yet it still has its proponents. Much of the historical outcry against the "recent immigrants" is born of the "race myth." Groups as well as individuals may suffer from a "superiority complex."

H. A. Miller aptly characterizes what he calls "one-hundred-per-cent patriotism and Nordic confidence defense complexes" as follows: "Hundred-per-cent patriotism and confidence in Nordic superiority are the two most dangerous ideas in the world today, because they lead in exactly the opposite direction from that which civilization must take if it is to survive. The fundamental objections to these ideas are, first, that they have no basis in fact, and second that the emotions which they organize have far-reaching and disruptive consequences."¹

Intelligence testing, or finding the I. Q., was resorted to in the attempt to establish "racial superiority." The I. Q. is the ratio of mental age to chronological age, multiplied by 100. But those who have carefully observed both the methods of testing and the final results are dubious as to its value in determining the intellectual rating or the social value of groups selected for the tests. Professor Miller says: "We have developed a large crop of pseudoscientists. They are of two sorts: first, those who have genuine standing in one field—say, biology, psychology, or education—and who go on into other fields to make generalizations such as they would not dream of making within their own fields. The other kind of pseudoscientists might be called half-baked scientists. They have, in a few hours or weeks, learned to give Binet tests, and they have as much blatancy and confidence as the advertisement of patent-medicine panacea."²

11. Hope for the Future. — It is not so strange that after a

¹ *Races, Nations and Classes*, p. 135

² *Ibid.*, p. 136

question has been threshed out in all its bearings, and after both folly and prejudice have attempted to determine its solution along narrower and irrational lines, the real truth and answer should be found in a principle of the Christian faith. In the light of that faith men of all nations are children of the same God and Father and are created for the same exalted purpose. Does not this truth underlie — perhaps unknown to the writer himself — these words of Miller? "The race problem is infinitely difficult — vaster and more difficult than the problems involved in kings and principalities. The conflict of cultures is more pronounced when there is the inescapable mark of race to solidify the area of the group. The first step toward the solution must be disillusionment from the belief that religion and ethics and science sanction the right of one race to rule another. If both the culturally superior and inferior races will accept the fact that inherent racial inferiority is a myth, the world may be saved some of the painful experience it has suffered as other myths of privilege and prestige have been shattered."¹

12. Voluntary Celibacy. — Another institution whose social value has been hotly debated, and against which heavy broadsides have been launched, is voluntary celibacy, especially as observed by the clergy and religious communities of men and women in the Catholic Church. Dean Inge puts the case of the opponents of the practice very strongly: "We do not think it wicked to encourage a beautiful and glorious specimen of womanhood to become a nun or sister of mercy, with vows of perpetual virginity. Here, surely, is a case in which the Eugenics Education Society ought to have something to say. A man or woman belonging to a good stock ought to be told by public opinion that it is a duty to society for him or her to marry and have children."²

However, there is another way of looking at the voluntary observance of celibacy on the part of "a man or woman belonging to a good stock." These persons are contributing more to social welfare by a celibate life than they could if they were married. How could Francis Xavier, Vincent de Paul, Peter Claver, the Jesuit missionaries of Canada, and the Franciscan *padres* on the Pacific coast have wrought their mighty deeds for the spread of Christian culture and civilization if they had been hampered by family ties?

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 144

² *Eugenics Review*, April, 1909

Being free from the care of a small, primary group, the family, they dedicated themselves to the service of whole nations

Friedrich Nietzsche, the inventor of the "superman," was a fearless critic of modern social institutions. But now and then there flashes out of his grim, destructive criticism "a gem of purest ray serene." In fact, he is noted for his vivid, realistic presentation of "truths which do strike home."

In speaking of Martin Luther, for instance, he says that the Reformer "gave to the priest the permission to take a wife. But three-fourths of the reverence which the people, especially the women of the people, show for the priest, rests on the belief that he is an exceptional person in this matter [celibacy]. They argue that the priest must be exceptional also in other things. Luther was compelled to take away auricular confession from the priest after he had given him a wife. This was psychologically correct, but thereby the Christian priesthood itself is abolished, whose greatest service has ever been this: to be a sacred ear, a sealed fountain, a grave for secrets entrusted."¹

Is the philosophy of the German writer too profound to follow? We do not think so. He wants to say that the beneficial institution of auricular confession, as we have it only in the Catholic Church, and the celibacy of the clergy who have the power of "hearing confessions," naturally go together. Not that a married priesthood could not have this power, and could not rightly forgive sins. No, Nietzsche does not insinuate this, but he definitely states that the people, "the common people," respect the priest because he is an exceptional person. He is not distracted by the care of wife and children. He can devote himself entirely to the "business of salvation." For this he needs all his time, energy, and effort. Nietzsche's supposition is that a married clergy would find it more difficult to gain the full confidence of the people and that one so encumbered would be less fit to listen to, and to bury in his own soul, the secrets of his flock.

In both suppositions Nietzsche is correct. Many persons would certainly be very loath to confess their sins and tell the story of their spiritual trials to a man who must ever strive "to please a wife." We do not mean to say that it would be impossible for a priest subject to wifely companionship to guard inviolate the se-

¹ Kaatz, *Die Weltanschauung Fr Nietzsches*, 2 Tl. Dresden, 1892, p. 38

crecy of the confessional But yet, it was a shrewd remark of the German philosopher when he said that it was "psychologically correct" for Luther to abolish confession after he had cast aside clerical celibacy

13. Social Value of Religious Orders. — The religious orders of the Church have been considered by some as "unsocial" and out-of-date in our modern society But these congregations of men and women have conferred vast benefits upon society, though recognition of this service is often grudgingly given This argument is sufficient to prove that religious orders fill an important place even in the society of today For an institution that no longer responds to the vital needs of a community disappears of its own accord It does not require an attack from without to lay it low But now, since the tree of religious life, the object of so many attacks and the target for such repeated calumnies, not only lives but blossoms with ever-renewed strength and vigor, it is evident that it draws its vitality from a source which human folly opposes in vain

Despite all the comforts and advantages with which modern civilization has enriched man, there is a void it cannot fill This is man's need of an ideal Many there are who are disgusted with the sordid aims and pursuits of a great number of our people They realize that such pursuits lower man's dignity And so they say that they will aim at something higher and better than their fellow citizens They devote themselves to art or literature or social service, and herein they try to find some ideal worthy of imitation One of the requisites for social peace and happiness is the observance of the moral order on the part of the majority of men This means that a more genuine and lasting happiness is found in communities where virtue is esteemed and where men successfully strive to beat down the clamorings of lower nature Unfortunately, there are many who find it difficult to observe this moral order, on account of their own weakness, but especially on account of the many obstacles placed in their way by a sinful, evil-minded world Now the religious life gives the best opportunity to observe the law of virtue in all things For it is based on the "observance of the counsels" And men have no higher standard of moral excellence than these "counsels of evangelical perfection"

14. The Theory of Malthus. — In 1798, Thomas Robert Malthus, an English political economist, published an essay on the *Principle of Population* His thesis was that population increases

in a geometrical ratio, and means of subsistence increase in an arithmetical ratio, vice and crime are necessary checks on this increase in population. Thus stated, the theory which Malthus revised in 1803 cannot be entirely rejected.

This doctrine can be better realized when diagrammed as follows:

Increase of Population.	1, 2, 4, 8, 16, 32, 64, 128, 256, etc
Increase of Production	1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, etc

Malthus affirmed¹ that "it may safely be pronounced that population when unchecked goes on doubling itself every twenty-five years, or increases in a geometrical ratio." He thought that the principal cause of poverty and resulting economic misery was overpopulation, or the pressure upon the available food supply. Hence his desire to avoid the calamity by restricting increase in population. The "problem of population" is the problem which inquires into the means by which sufficient food can be supplied to an increasing number of human beings.

There are, however, certain checks on population which tend to prevent it from reaching the limit where subsistence could no longer be obtained. The checks opposing the working of the law are positive and negative. The positive checks are pestilence, war, disease, natural disasters, etc., which limit the population. But the positive checks will not of themselves be sufficient to reduce the population. Hence, a negative check, self-restraint in marriage, is necessary.

Malthus cannot be held responsible for the perversion of his counsel of moral restraint. A group of economists, physicians, and sociologists do not believe in the efficacy of the moral restraint as advocated by Malthus but openly favor the policy of voluntary birth restriction and deliberate, unethical, and sinful interference in the laws of nature. This is the crime which President Roosevelt branded in 1903 as "race suicide."

15. Doctrine of Malthus Not Scientifically Proven. — But even if it were rid of these excesses foisted upon it by later theorists, the opinion of Malthus is unsound from a scientific point of view. It is not true that the food supply, or production, has not kept pace with population. Introduction of machinery, large-scale methods of production, intensive methods of farming, new food products, less

¹ *Essay*, Book I, Chap. 1.

wasteful distribution, the opening of new lands, the acquisition of new countries (for instance, the Arctic regions) have in the past century given us hope that we can always provide a growing population with an abundant food supply. In fact it has been truly said that "the doctrine of Malthus has ceased to be the bugbear it formerly was"¹

16. Evils of Neo-Malthusianism.—Despite the many fervent pleas made in favor of the theory of the neo-Malthusians (birth control), the practice has been condemned by those best qualified to speak on the subject.

An English physician summarizes the "evils of artificial birth control" under the following captions. It is a cause of sterility, it brings on neuroses (nervous afflictions), it causes fibroid tumours. It is a scandalous suggestion, a cause of unhappiness in marriage, a degradation of the female sex. It is especially hurtful to the poor and tends to the servile state (a national bureaucracy). Birth control is, moreover, a menace to the nation. For there is a limit to lowering the death rate, birth control tends to extinguish the birth rate, it is a danger to the empire, a plot against Christendom, and an offense against the law of nature.²

All these objections to an evil practice are supported by proof. Dr. Sutherland further quotes the testimony of the late Dr. F. W. Taylor, president of the British Gynecological Society, who wrote as follows in 1904:

"Artificial prevention is an evil and a disgrace. The immorality of it, the degradation of succeeding generations by it, their domination or subjection by strangers who are stronger because they have not given way to it, the curses that must assuredly follow the parents of decadence who started it—all of this needs to be brought home to the minds of those who have thoughtlessly or ignorantly accepted it, for it is to this undoubtedly that we have to attribute not only the diminishing birth rate, but the diminishing value of our population."³

17. Birth-Control Measures Are Harmful.—One of the more serious indictments of the neo-Malthusian practice is contained in an address on "The Excesses of Birth Control" before the Sixth

¹ Burke, *Political Economy*, p. 87.

² Sutherland, Halliday G., M.D., *Birth Control*.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 86.

International Neo-Malthusian and Birth Control Conference, New York, March 26, 1925

"My next objection is that you have proceeded without sufficient proof of the efficacy and the safety of the measures which you suggest. Have you not a moral obligation to assure those whom you wish to help that the procedures you sponsor are at once effective and harmless? The best medical opinion informs me that you are, in fact, not prepared to make any such guarantees. You have collected no evidence on which to predicate the measure of your success. Such information as is available indicates clearly that there is still a large element of uncertainty in the suggested procedures. Those who have studied the work of the so-called birth-control clinics abroad have been equally unable to discover approved methods in general use. But, more vital is the question of safety. Are contraceptive practices, in fact, without hazard to those who indulge in them?"¹

18. A New Attitude Toward the Right of the Unborn Child.

—A more ethical, and at the same time a more rational, attitude toward the question of "the right of the unborn to live" is also being taken. Dr G Winter, director of the clinic for women at the University of Koenigsberg, gives three reasons why attempts to interfere with nature's law regarding life of the unborn child will be less frequent in future. These are, first, the progress of therapy, whereby causes for attempting the life of the child to save the mother would be minimized. Secondly, the probable progress of prophylaxis, together with the improvement of social welfare work for mothers, will not allow those dangerous conditions to develop which might suggest an operation harmful to the life of the child. Thirdly, there is no longer a probability that a physician will justify from a social point of view the destruction of an incipient life. There is no biologic foundation of such eugenic measures which would call for the sacrifice of the life of the unborn child in the interest of race improvement.

19. Heredity and Environment.—The long-continued controversy between the respective influence of these two factors on life and conduct, which may also be called the "nature versus nurture" theory, is now carried on more rationally and scientifically. Especially as regards crime and juvenile delinquency, the pains-

¹ Louis I Dublin, Ph D, Statistician, Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, New York, 1925

taking work of investigators like Dr William Healy has prepared the way for a saner and more hopeful treatment of those charged with crime and antisocial behavior. The title of his work, *The Individual Delinquent*, points out that we must do away with rigid classification of wrongdoers into stereotyped categories, but must patiently study every case "individually" and with due regard for all possible causes that might influence conduct. When we remember that quite often strange and abnormal conduct has its beginnings in some unfortunate complex going back to the early life of the patient or offender, and that this complex may be due to any number of causative factors, the wisdom of Dr Healy's method of "diagnosis and prognosis" becomes apparent. To those who wish to understand the influence of both factors on conduct, the study of Dr Healy's works will be extremely useful.¹

With regard to the respective influence of heredity and environment, Parsons states the case quite correctly when he says "It has become apparent that heredity and environment are not mutually exclusive as causes of crime, in fact, they interact to such an extent that in many cases it is difficult to distinguish one from the other."²

20. A Eugenics Laboratory.—The agencies that society desires to use in order to improve the racial qualities of future generations, either physically or mentally, are both eugenic and euthenic. The latter term refers to factors that make for a better environment. For the better control of "eugenic measures" Francis Galton suggested the establishment of the "eugenics record office" in 1905. In the year 1907 it was enlarged and the name changed to "eugenics laboratory." Its purpose is to answer this question "In what way do social conditions help to improve or to impair the physical and mental characteristics of future generations, and to what extent can each generation determine the natural endowment of the one to come?" The laboratory is under the direction of Karl Pearson (at first in collaboration with Francis Galton) and Edgar Schuster. Sociologists, anthropologists, and physicians, who want to use modern methods in their work are given assistance. The main work of the laboratory is the collection of statistical material on the physical and psychical characteristics of man and on the rela-

¹ *The Individual Delinquent, Mental Conflicts and Misconduct*. More useful will be the *Judge Baker Foundation Case Studies*—a series of twenty careful analyses of so many cases of juvenile delinquency.

² *Crime and the Criminal*, p. 45.

tion of these qualities to heredity and environment. These data are interpreted in the light of modern statistical methods, and published. The laboratory derives its material from family histories and family trees and from the reports of the annual measurements made in schools and other institutions. This method may gradually lead to the establishment of principles which will be of real value in formulating eugenic measures.

21. Galton's Eugenic Program.—Galton, whose publications on eugenics date from his work on *Hereditary Genius* published in 1869, to the article on "Eugenic Qualities of Primary Importance" in the *Eugenic Review*,¹ has suggested ways and means of eugenic research which still obtain. He advocates the drawing up of lists of noted families in order to study the factors making for exceptionally high qualities in the offspring. Such a study has been made of the famous Bach family of musicians. Of one hundred and twenty persons who belong to this family at least thirty-four were highly gifted in music. This exceptionally noteworthy family can be traced for two hundred years, and its most illustrious scion is Johann Sebastian Bach, born at Eisenach, March 21, 1685, one of the greatest of composers of church music. Nine famous musicians and composers of this family are mentioned in the *Century Cyclo-pedia* as of outstanding merit.

Galton also recommends that biographies of "capable" families be written, that is, of families not distinguished for unusual achievements. Moreover, records are to be kept of families which, on the whole, are below the average from the eugenic viewpoint, as regards health and qualities of mind and body. Families of inmates of public institutions, hospitals, and prisons are to be included in these statistics.

As public opinion is beginning to favor permanent institutional care for habitual offenders, special attention was to be paid to keeping the records of recidivists and of habitual criminals. These offenders, as well as the feeble-minded were to be prevented from propagating their kind.

22. Practical Use of Such Data.—Galton suggests that after these facts have been gathered they are to be discussed in order to increase our knowledge of the laws of physiological heredity. The question was also to be considered whether a study of Eurasians, that is, of the descendants of English and Hindu parents, was not

¹ Vol. I, 1909

to be made, as well for its own sake as for a test of the application of Mendelian laws to human society. Eurasians have now intermarried for a period of three generations and in sufficient numbers to allow the drawing of some conclusions. Of course, such data are valuable not only for those interested in Anglo-Indian culture, but are useful for the study of race mixture in our own country.

23. The Spiritual Factor in Eugenics. — No one can deny that up to the present the ideals of the eugenists have been to make man a well-equipped machine for working successfully in an industrialized civilization. But many will rebel at this narrow and limited program. Religion would lift all eugenic programs to a higher plane. For religion, though it be "other-worldly," does not disregard man's physical and mental well-being. The ancient Greeks, at least the people of Sparta, were highly developed mentally and physically. Yet we would refuse to regard them as models for imitation today when Christianity presents to us higher ideals than they ever knew. The religion taught by Christ gives us the right and the privilege to strive for all the legitimate aims of cultured Hellas and to strive for them with higher motives and a more laudable purpose than to turn out healthy animals. The grace of God which enables man to lead a virtuous life presupposes and builds on nature. It does not destroy the natural human desires. As Fr. Gerrard says: "Sound Catholic philosophy has ever insisted on the right use of this world as a means of attaining the next. Fine physique, good digestion, clear eye, keen intellect, and indomitable will are gifts of God, and are given precisely to enable man, under the influence of grace, to develop his spiritual nature. Only in so far as these things in any particular case tend to hinder that development must they be restrained. But, normally speaking, their full perfection pertains and tends to the full perfection of the spirit."¹

When we recall the unreasonable self-tortures submitted to by some of the so-called Sannyasins or holy men of India, and the austere rites, including voluntary confinement in a narrow cell for years, practiced by the Lamaists of Tibet, we realize more fully, not only the rationality but also the dignity of the Christian principles of mortification. The latter merely assert that mind is superior to matter and that the soul should not suffer by bodily

¹ *The Church and Eugenics*, p. 19

indulgence. Hence any statement that the Catholic Church opposes beneficial eugenic measures, measures which do not trespass upon the essential rights of the individual, is false. Fr. Gerrard¹ states our position clearly. "Catholicism, then, far from seeking to hinder eugenic reform, seeks rather to promote it by setting it on a lasting basis, the basis of the spirit. God is taken as the beginning and end of all social improvement. He improves the race, and He improves it for the manifestation of His own glory. We cooperate with Him."

This need of a spiritual basis in all social and community work has been insisted on by those who have insight into our social needs. Bernard Iddings Bell,² writing from his experience both as a minister of the Gospel and as a social worker, says "If there is a supernatural store of help to be furnished to struggling men, then indeed the churches may claim an adequate excuse for their existence. There is among us today a great soul hunger." Now the Catholic Church claims to be ready to lead men to this "supernatural store of help," and to satisfy the "great soul hunger," so obvious in our materialistic civilization.

24. Heredity and Freedom of the Will.—Though numerous well-conducted studies in heredity show the strong influences of tainted parentage upon the offspring, we must not ascribe too much power to a congenital handicap. Many writers on the subject question the freedom of the will, and personal responsibility for good or evil. We may admit a "criminal diathesis" or a criminalistic tendency to the extent that some hereditarily weak persons, like alcoholics, are "slaves of a diseased nervous system." Moreover, in the stress of modern life and under economic pressure, it is the mentally and physically weak and enfeebled who are apt to take the lines of least resistance and violate law and order. The great city of today is primarily for the strong and the alert, or as Dr. W. J. Hickson says, "The environment as it is now is adjusted for practically normal or well-balanced individuals, environment is man-made, made by dominants for dominants and not for recessives, giving the former a relative degree of freedom not vouchsafed the latter."³

¹ *The Church and Eugenics*, p. 57.

² *Atlantic Monthly*, February, 1915.

³ *The Municipal Court of Chicago. Tenth and Eleventh Annual Report*,

Hence it is natural that a mental or moral weakling will readily succumb in a dangerous situation which he seeks voluntarily. This is in accordance with the Scriptural saying that "he who loveth the danger shall perish therein." But frequently a person can shape or choose his environment. And hence he will be able to exert an influence upon hereditary traits. At all events, even in the very moment of action and of determination to any kind of behavior, nay more, even in strong temptation, freedom of will is present in the normal or healthy person, that is, there is freedom of interior consent to, or rejection of, the matter in question, even though a shattered nervous system may lead a person to act contrary to the command of an enlightened will. There is here a combat between the forces of good and of evil. On the one side, we have all the debasing influences and downward tendencies of corrupt nature, but we also have an abundance of grace or of spiritual strength to put down the clamorings of sense. Many writers ignore these spiritual helps, though on the testimony of thousands they have been freely given in the heat of life's ceaseless conflicts and moral struggles.

Bleuler, an eminent German psychiatrist, gives an explanation in psychologic terms of the weakness of will and apparent incapacity to resist evil impulse, which characterizes some individuals. He refers to a

"weakness of the will, of volitional inertia characterized by an inability of its victims to resist impulses originating either from within or without to satisfy their desires or fancies, which many do instantaneously, some without any reflection as to the consequences, some with full insight into the consequences, but through lack of resistance, through inability to strive against them, through supineness and indifference regarding such consequences. With such affectivity they are capable of anything, not excepting serious crimes.

"Under certain circumstances, however, one could speak expressly of a hyperbulia. Here the victims carry out with the greatest energy whatever they have set their minds on, be it something rational or something irrational. They can, then, under such conditions, regardless of self, exert themselves to extremes, endure every kind of pain and injury, and allow nothing to dissuade them from their purpose. Such cases can show a persistence under certain circumstances that will continue for years.

"Again one sees frequently the otherwise customary combination of weakness of the will with obstinacy in which, under certain conditions, the one or the other factor obtains the ascendancy. In general most of the

victims appear capricious, vacillating. They promise everything possible, fulfill nothing. Among inmates of asylums it is of quite frequent occurrence that they, for instance, will ask for work only to reject such opportunity offhand when it is offered them. Similarly their threats quite as often are not carried out."¹

Bleuler does not assert that all will power is absent; in fact, he shows that the same persons who at one time seem to have no power of initiative, at other times betray remarkable aggressiveness.

25. Heredity and Opportunity.—When we remember the powerful rôle of the "fortunate chance" in determining the greatness of individuals, we are apt to be even more careful not to assign too large a part to "hereditary influence" in shaping the life history of persons. James J. Hill, who became one of the great builders of the Northwest, worked for a French Canadian as one of a flat-boat crew which with long poles propelled cargoes of freight up the Minnesota River. But, as Professor Erville B. Woods points out, "he had the discernment to perceive that the Northwest was pregnant with economic opportunity where others could see only sterile wilderness. He had other qualities by which in the end he profited enormously from a conjuncture which will not occur again in American railroad history. It is absurd to attempt to account for such conspicuous economic success solely in terms of individual traits. The rôle of great 'once-for-all' opportunities must be recognized."²

26. A Word of Hope.—To those who are afraid to put forth their best efforts in any line of worth-while endeavor for fear that on account of "poor hereditary endowments" they will never succeed, the above considerations ought to give hope. A clear statement of the importance of the hereditary factor is found in two short sentences of a Scotch physician, Dr. James Devon: "We inherit all the faculties and powers which we possess, but what they are only the event shows. Nothing can be taken out of a man but what is in him, but there may be a good deal in him which is never taken out."³

27. Sterilization of the Criminal and the Feeble-minded.—

¹ *Report of the Psychopathic Laboratory of the Municipal Court of Chicago for the Years May 1, 1914 to April 30, 1917*, p. 41.

² *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. XXVI, No. 2, p. 154.

³ Quoted by Erville B. Woods in *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. XXVI, No. 1, p. 21.

There is sometimes a good deal of character and of latent ability even in those who are regarded as "constitutionally inferior" persons. It is the duty of society to develop such submerged qualities and to give their possessors a chance to make good use of the slender talents they have. But it seems to be the plan of some social leaders to segregate unfortunates with a low I Q, and if they have shown criminal tendencies, even to "sterilize them," that is, make them unfit for parenthood.

On May 2, 1927, state laws providing for the sterilization of feeble-minded persons were sustained by the Supreme Court of the United States. The Virginia law approving sterilization had been attacked by the legal counsel of a feeble-minded woman who had been condemned to this punishment. The Supreme Court upheld the Virginia law.

America commented adversely on this decision in an editorial entitled "Unjustified Sterilization."

"The decision of the Supreme Court on the so-called 'sterilization law' of Virginia is most unfortunate. This ruling, made on May 2, 1927, is another instance, in our judgment, of the tendency of federal courts to set aside the deeper consideration of humanity and public policy in favor of conceptions that are purely legalistic.

"Sterilization is only another of those alluring but fallacious short-cuts to social health which have so often led us into the bog. Fundamentally our objection is based on the fact that every man, even a lunatic, is an image of God, not a mere animal, that he is a human being, and not a mere social factor. To care for the dependent with sacrifice, foresight, and charity is a work which ennoble the individual, and is a source of vigor to the State. To care for them with a surgeon's knife and nothing else and then to stamp this method as 'enlightened' shows how far we have wandered from the concepts of humanity and of Christian civilization."¹

Dr. Austin O'Malley has made an exhaustive study of the subject from both the medical and moral point of view. "We should oppose any law of vasectomy or fallocotomy," he says, "not only because such laws are immoral, beyond the authority of the State, but because even if they were permissible they are open to very grave abuse. They will begin with Carrington's negro"² and end

¹ *America*, May 14, 1927.

² A negro upon whom Dr. Carrington of Virginia performed the operation of vasectomy. Before the operation this man was said to be "a dangerous, brutal savage." But "after vasectomy he improved physically and mentally."

with the unfortunate that has been convicted twice, for everywhere at present we find the drivelor on the social uplift, the underdone scientist, and the wry-brained politician, all infected with the itch of meddlesomeness, and these agitators have great influence for evil. Such laws applied to persons afflicted with hereditary neuroses or insanity, to vagrants, paupers, deaf mutes, and the like, are sheer villainy. The very purpose of the State is to safeguard the helpless, not to mutilate them, nor to throw misshapen babes into an Apothetai as the brutal Spartan threw them."¹

The following summary of the moral and biological aspects of sterilization is taken from a communication of the Central Bureau, a bureau of research and study of social questions.² The report was issued in April, 1923.

"The present status of the sterilization laws (a) Fifteen states have enacted statutes (b) In ten states the law is at present on the statute books, unattacked (c) It is functioning "satisfactorily" in California, Nebraska, and Oregon (d) It is functioning "to a limited extent" in Connecticut, North Dakota, and Wisconsin (e) In Kansas and Iowa, the law has fallen into disuse (f) In South Dakota and Washington, 'the law is practically a dead letter' (g) In New Jersey, Nevada, Michigan, and Indiana, the laws were declared unconstitutional by the courts, but are still on the statute books (h) In New York, the law was declared unconstitutional in 1918 and repealed in 1920"

28. Present Status of Laws.—Here are some reasons for the present status of these laws (a) In Iowa, the law was declared unconstitutional, because contrary to the Bill of Rights, sterilization, as a punitive procedure, must be looked upon as a second punishment for the same offense, if ordered for those who were sent to reformatories, prisons, etc., unless sterilization formed part of the original sentence.

(b) In Washington, the law was held to impose a penalty that was "neither cruel nor unusual," hence, not contrary to the constitution of the United States.

(c) In some states, the courts have held that sterilization imposed upon epileptics in state institutions and not upon epileptics

Of course, such alleged "benefits" do not yet constitute convincing proof that the operation is in every case legitimate or beneficial.

¹ *American Ecclesiastical Review*, Vol XLIV, p 705

² 3835 Westminster Place, St. Louis, Mo

of the same degree of degeneracy outside of such institutions, constitutes unjust discrimination and is, therefore, unconstitutional in those states in which class legislation is forbidden

(d) The selection of persons who are deemed subject to sterilization laws is another great difficulty. This cannot be left safely to an administrative officer, as in the case of vaccination or quarantine, as the danger to the state is not sufficiently imminent. Court proceedings in each individual case make the operation of the law cumbersome, and even then errors cannot be entirely avoided.

(e) While the laws are generally mandatory, "the records show that most cases have had the moral support of the family of the patient." Abuses which may creep into proceedings from this head are sufficiently obvious.

(f) The "popularity" of the law may be tested by its application. Prior to 1921, 2233 persons, male and female, had been legally sterilized in the United States. Of these, 2058 operations took place in California, Nebraska being a distant second with 155 operations, then follows Oregon with 127, Indiana with 120, Wisconsin with 76, Kansas with 54, Iowa with 49, New York with 42, and North Dakota with 23. In Washington and Michigan each, only one such operation was performed, while of the states which have sterilization laws, Nevada, South Dakota, and New Jersey have legalized not a single such operation. It may be questioned whether these figures represent a decided "racial improvement."

(g) The various legal involvements consequent upon sterilization laws have made it obvious that "race betterment is the only motive which eugenical sterilization laws have to justify them. The most successful statutes omit punitive or therapeutic purposes, and set forth only eugenical aims."

29. The Biological Arguments Against Sterilization.—(a) It is generally conceded that, though sterilization prevents procreation, it in no way diminishes sexual vigor. The sterilized person can indulge his sexual appetites without the fear of the responsibilities usually associated with them. Sterilization thereby becomes a positive menace to society, if it were enforced on a large scale. It facilitates immorality, and would be a direct encouragement to vice and a prolific source of venereal infection.

(b) Insanity, feeble-mindedness, and criminality, the three chief conditions for which sterilization is recommended, have not been definitely proved to be inheritable in the strict biological sense of

the term In fact, the burden of evidence seems to point in the contrary direction That criminality is due to a corrigible lack of self-control must be granted by every clear-thinking person, Lombroso's determinism being quite generally discarded Similarly, opinions are becoming increasingly strong in favor of an environmental—in the biological sense—origin of insanity and feeble-mindedness Besides, "Psychiatrists have recently emphasized the connection between bodily states and the importance of the sexual and endocrine organs in relation to the psychoses What part of the disorders related to these organs is due to heredity and what part to environmental factors has yet to be determined "

(c) It is generally conceded that instances of uniformly and totally vitiated germ plasm—that is, offspring which must necessarily be insane, feeble-minded, or criminal—are extremely few Even in the families of affected parents, children are frequently found whose talents and abilities become a positive contribution to society and human culture Is it biologically wise to deprive society of these potential contributions? And even if it be objected that these children become potential carriers of undesirable traits, this can only be by improper matings when they themselves come to marry Education alone can supply the proper remedy in such cases

30. Segregation.—In view of these and many other similar arguments, it can be shown that segregation of undesirables meets all the necessary social restrictions and is, moreover, free from the objections that are urged against sterilization

(a) No moral objections can be urged against segregation

(b) The legal difficulties have long since been removed through years of study and application

(c) The eugenic value of segregation is beyond question, even by the admission of the most strenuous advocates of sterilization

(d) To meet the menace of turning sterilized criminals, insane, or feeble-minded loose upon society, even such sterilized persons would have to be isolated "People of this sort should be humanely isolated so that they will be brought into competition only with their own kind " Thus, "the sexes can be effectively segregated and any sterilization operation becomes unnecessary "

(e) The chief objection urged against segregation is its enormous cost In reply The expense will decrease steadily when segregation is viewed as a long-time investment, for the number

of future wards of the state will decrease steadily if segregation is properly enforced. Again, a large part of the expense of upkeep of institutions can be reduced by proper organization of the labor of the inmates. Statistics on the point are available and are convincing.¹

TOPICS FOR DISCUSSION

- 1 Why is biologic selection of importance in social progress?
- 2 What do you infer from the work *The Kallikak Family* by Dr Goddard?
- 3 Is bad heredity sometimes a cause of pauperism?
- 4 Is heredity more important than environment?
- 5 What are dominant and recessive traits?
- 6 What is eugenics?
- 7 What is a root cause of much social degeneracy? Why?
- 8 What is meant by the I Q? Is it always an adequate test of intelligence?
- 9 Some eugenists object to voluntary celibacy. Is there any social advantage in the practice?
- 10 Other writers find fault with religious orders of men and women. Can you point out advantages they confer upon society?
- 11 Is the theory of Malthus on population scientifically correct?
- 12 What are some of the features of Galton's eugenic program?
- 13 Do most eugenic programs overlook the spiritual factor in man?
- 14 Is opportunity sometimes more powerful than heredity?

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CHAPTER IV

FEEBLEMINDEDNESS AND INSANITY

1. Relationship between Problems of Crime, Poverty, and Mental Deficiency.—The modern study of social problems has shown very conclusively that crime, poverty, and mental deficiency are closely interwoven and that one often accompanies the other. Crime is often due to mental defect, and many cases of poverty may be attributed to the same cause

We are now to study the types of mental deficiency known as feeble-mindedness and insanity. The former has been defined as "a state of mental defect existing from birth or from an early age due to incomplete or abnormal development, in consequence of which the person afflicted is incapable of performing his duties as a member of society in the position of life to which he is born"¹ It manifests itself in many ways in slowness and incoherence of thought, in lack of ability to form a judgment on even the simplest matters, and later in life in lack of power to adjust one's self to environment and to take up the struggle for existence. This last inability throws the person so handicapped upon the aid and protection of parents, friends, or social agencies

We must distinguish between feeble-mindedness and insanity. Feeble-mindedness is a defect in the brain structure. When the brain is not developed with the rest of the body, feeble-mindedness is the result. But when the brain becomes diseased in later life, the resulting mental defect is called "insanity." Hence feeble-mindedness is due to an undeveloped brain, while insanity is the result of a diseased brain. Again, feeble-mindedness is manifested in childhood. There may be some development, but it soon ceases. While feeble-mindedness, therefore, is a case of arrested development, insanity arises after a person has gone through some stages of intellectual progress. Dr. Fernald expresses the difference between the two forms of mental defect by saying that a feeble-minded individual may be compared to a person who has no money in his

¹ Healy, *The Individual Delinquent*, p. 449

pocket, while the insane individual is one who has had money, but who has lost it

It is evident that these conditions of mental deficiency may render the victims more susceptible to temptation and to the evil influence of environment. As regards poverty, since the feeble-minded or insane person will at best be able to do only a little work and that under constant surveillance and in a protected environment, he is apt to become a public charge at any time

2. Classification of the Feeble-minded.—The feeble-minded are divided into the generally accepted classification of idiots, imbeciles, and morons. The individual remaining at the stage of mental development of a child two years of age is an idiot, one with the mentality of a child from three to seven years of age is an imbecile, a moron (from the Greek word for "foolish") is one whose mental development is above that of the imbecile, but does not exceed that of the child twelve years of age

3. Danger to Society from the Moron.—Many of the more serious crimes, especially those which outrage public decency, are the deeds of morons. The degree of intelligence they possess enables them to take up some form of employment, and thus for a while they will pass unnoticed in a community. But in many cases they will be guilty of a gross offense, and then their mental defect becomes recognized. Dr. Hickson speaks also of "sociopaths" or borderland cases, that is, persons who for a long time may "get by" in a protected environment under the watchful guidance of parents, relations, or friends. But as in the case of morons, sometimes the most careful watching is unavailing, and under stress of temptation, they will succumb to their vicious instincts. Another danger of such persons to society is that they marry and may become the parents of mentally diseased children

4. Feeble-mindedness and Retardation.—The feeble-minded child is different from the retarded child. The latter may be really a child of more than usual ability, but on account of some physical defect like malnutrition or lack of physical care is backward in school work. Even the rating by intelligence tests, or tests for determining the I Q (intelligence quotient), is by no means a sure method of detecting feeble-mindedness. A little special care, the removal of a physical defect or the proper social adjustment, may enable the backward or retarded child to assume his normal place in the grade to which by age he belongs

5. Extent of Feeble-mindedness.—According to figures published in *The Independent* (April 17, 1913), a recent investigation in the public schools of New York showed fifteen thousand feeble-minded children, or two per cent of the total number of school children

As the number of feeble-minded for any section of the country during any year can be ascertained only by a complete examination of all suspected cases, and as such examination can hardly be carried out, it is hard to state definitely the number of such individuals in the United States. Yet, on the basis of various computations it has been inferred that the total number is considerably above two hundred thousand

In the latest report of the Bureau of the Census we read "There is a popular belief that feeble-mindedness is greatly on the increase. In the absence of community data, it is not possible to state whether or not this is the case

The following summary gives the population of institutions for the feeble-minded and the number of feeble-minded in almshouses on January 1, 1904, 1910, and 1923

YEAR	In special institutions	In almshouses ¹
1923	42,954	12,183
1910	20,731	13,238
1904	14,347	16,551

From 1904 to 1910 the patient population of the institutions for feeble-minded increased by 6384, or 44.5 per cent, while the feeble-minded in almshouses decreased by 3313, or 20 per cent. From 1910 to 1923 the population of the institutions for feeble-minded increased by 22,223, or 107.2 per cent, while the feeble-minded in almshouses decreased by 1055, or 8 per cent. In other words, from 1904 to 1923, the population of the institutions for feeble-minded almost trebled, while the feeble-minded in almshouses in 1923 were about two-thirds the number in 1904.²

6. Tests for Determining Feeble-mindedness.—Standard tests

¹ The data relative to feeble-minded in almshouses are compiled from reports from these institutions, and can not be considered entirely complete

² *Feeble-minded and Epileptics in Institutions, 1923* p. 25 Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Washington, 1926

for the determination of mental deficiency have been prepared by the French scientist, Alfred Binet and his colleague, Theodore Simon, who published in the years 1905 to 1908 their well-known tests for ascertaining the intelligence of children. Hence the tests are known as the Binet-Simon tests. They consist of the performance of simple tasks requiring a certain degree of intelligence, memory, judgment, etc., which the normal child of a certain age can accomplish. In the psychopathic laboratory of the municipal court of Chicago these tests are also used for adults, and are given not only as intelligence tests as originally proposed by the authors, but also to determine the presence of paresis, senile dementia, alcoholism, etc. One of the tests is called the Binet-Simon Visual Memory test, in which a diagram is exposed for ten seconds and must then be reproduced by the person subjected to the test. This test has not met the approval of all students, as there are many factors besides intelligence entering into the satisfactory performance of this, as well as most other tests. Some critics, like Professor A. Goldenweiser, even say that "intelligence tests" certainly do not measure intelligence.

The same writer asks the following pertinent question: "Suppose for some reason or other there were a flood of emigration from America to France, Italy or to Germany, and tests were devised there and on the same principles, and the Americans knowing as much German, French, or Italian as they do were submitted to the tests in these countries. Do you think that the scale of relative values would remain what it is when European immigrants are subjected to the tests here? There are mythologies which creep surreptitiously into even the most scientific attitudes."¹

On the other hand, Dr. Herman M. Adler, Illinois state criminologist, observes that "so striking have been the results achieved by means of the Binet-Simon tests that, in the ten years since the first publication, this type of measurement has become firmly established in schools, courts, and institutions, in fact, wherever child welfare is concerned."²

7. Causes of Feeble-mindedness.—We must admit the importance of heredity in the causation of feeble-mindedness. We need not, however, accept the assertion of some writers, that sixty-five per cent to seventy-five per cent of all cases are to be traced to this cause.

¹ *Journal of Social Forces*, November 1924, p. 135

² Quoted in Ford, *Social Problems and Social Policy*, p. 355

Other causes are neglect and abuse, after-effects of diseases like diphtheria and scarlet fever, a fall in infancy, a blow on the head, etc. Accidents before, at, or after birth should also be mentioned. Records in prisons, detention homes, and case records of social workers show conclusively that parents are responsible for feeble-minded offspring on account of immoral conduct, alcoholism, etc.

8. Expenditures for Maintaining Feeble-minded.—The expense of maintaining public institutions for the feeble-minded may seem to be very high according to these recently published Government statistics for 1923¹

PER CAPITA EXPENDITURES FOR MAINTENANCE AND AVERAGE DAILY PATIENT POPULATION FOR THE YEAR 1922 IN STATE INSTITUTIONS FOR FEEBLEMINDED, BY STATES

STATE	Total per capita	Salaries and wages	Provisions	Fuel, light and water	Other expenditures for maintenance	Average daily patient population
California*	\$296.98	\$125.78	\$127.77	(†)	\$43.42	1,576
Colorado*	384.82	224.73	62.74	\$53.53	43.82	74
Connecticut	502.06	206.74	66.03	59.66	170.22	558
Delaware	462.16	208.88	40.06	27.37	185.86	40
Florida	389.23	190.66	141.43	11.63	105.50	132
Idaho	183.39	65.25	23.82	4.36	89.96	238
Illinois	276.38	107.43	58.19	33.01	77.76	2,600
Indiana	206.27	81.52	35.18	27.10	62.46	1,524
Iowa	557.96	165.95	131.16	124.78	136.08	1,516
Kansas	194.09	57.44	(†)	(†)	136.66	764
Kentucky	253.02	86.27	48.27	31.64	86.84	444
Louisiana	389.94	80.32	94.34	66.97	148.31	124
Maine	379.14	143.01	55.39	70.48	110.26	383
Massachusetts	333.15	133.84	68.20	29.65	101.46	3,033
Michigan	524.57	153.54	143.15	61.64	166.23	1,775
Minnesota	239.95	103.62	58.61	41.55	36.17	1,859
Mississippi	714.29	206.17	142.46	68.18	297.47	70
Missouri	533.40	136.95	163.13	56.44	176.88	607
Nebraska	142.42	63.81	41.10	11.41	23.10	740
New Hampshire	320.66	134.43	41.63	51.26	93.32	404
New Jersey	342.99	109.66	76.37	60.68	96.28	1,070
New York	286.99	119.60	44.91	38.12	84.35	5,565
North Carolina	359.01	120.92	61.44	49.60	127.05	227
North Dakota	312.01	136.08	51.96	70.90	53.07	324
Ohio	187.68	73.53	36.77	28.85	48.54	2,485
Oregon	165.96	77.20	37.34	27.33	24.09	705
Pennsylvania	269.60	106.98	47.48	36.39	78.75	3,365
Rhode Island	359.16	110.47	46.38	55.86	146.44	368
South Carolina	385.91	121.83	76.01	14.68	173.39	109
South Dakota	383.24	105.73	48.62	80.52	148.38	423
Texas	202.90	95.51	30.52	19.36	57.50	235
Vermont	304.44	110.70	41.55	52.37	99.82	153
Virginia	204.65	82.01	44.37	20.89	57.38	526
Washington	450.51	161.86	101.80	72.59	114.26	764
Wisconsin	262.71	80.59	62.65	36.77	73.51	1,188
Wyoming	183.52	110.21	15.33	17.43	40.55	137

* Includes data from only 1 of the 2 state institutions in operation

† Not reported separately, but included with "other expenditures for maintenance"

¹ *Ibid*, p. 23

9. Remedial Measures. — Society has begun the establishment of special schools for the mentally handicapped, and these institutions are best adapted for the purpose. This is the conclusion of a study on mental defect in a rural county of Delaware. "With a comprehensive program combining mental examinations, special classes, and supervision in the community, with institutional care and training, the careful recognition of mental defect and the proper treatment of individual cases will be possible. By this means the needs of all types of mental defectives may be met with justice to themselves and their families, and the interests of society safeguarded."¹

10. The Nervous or Psychopathic Child. — It is to be borne in mind that as the retarded child is not necessarily feeble-minded, so the "psychopathic" child may suffer from a personality defect without being mentally defective. In fact, the psychopathic child may have superior intelligence, and on a purely intellectual basis may be classed as normal. The chief difficulty of the psychopathic child, or child with a personality defect, is the inability to adjust himself satisfactorily to the group of which he is a member. We quote a definition of the psychopathic child, that is of the child who manifests abnormal mental traits, but is neither feeble-minded nor insane, from the *British Journal of Medical Psychology*: "Only when such an individual's variation or a group of such variations makes an individual's behavior deviate so definitely from what is done by the social group to which he as an individual belongs that it is impossible for him to live as a member of that group without definite discomfort to the group, or without violating the social code in such a way as to become a menace to human progress, may we say that his condition is definitely psychopathic."²

11. Psychiatric Study of Problem Children. — In recent literature on delinquency, children with personality defects, or who manifest serious conduct disorders, are sometimes referred to as problem children. Special psychiatric clinics are now established in many cities for the study of these children.

The psychopathic investigation includes a study of the background, developmental history, home and neighborhood conditions

¹ United States Department of Labor, Children's Bureau. Bureau Publication No. 48, p. 94. *Mental Defect in a Rural County*, by Walter Treadway and Emma O. Lundberg.

² Vol. IV, 1924, Part II, p. 167.

and influences, institutional experiences, personality traits, companions, interests and habits, school history and all previous delinquencies of the child. A physical and mental examination is, of course, included. Opportunity is also given for the boy or girl to tell his or her "own story" of the trouble. All this should lead up to a sound prognosis and recommendations for a "follow up" treatment.

In the procedure of the Chicago juvenile court, a child who is found by the "mental tests" to be defective is given a thorough examination by the psychologist, and if any abnormality of behavior is observed he is also given a psychiatric examination by a psychiatrist, either at the detention home or at the office of the institute for juvenile research.

Agencies of this type ought to be accessible at least to our larger city schools. For in a group of seven hundred or eight hundred children, coming from every social stratum, representing different racial and hereditary backgrounds, and subject to the most various kinds of home and parental conditions and influences, conduct problems of a very serious type may develop with which the teacher is powerless to cope.

Such an agency will not only help us to solve and to adjust conduct problems, but it will also prove of value in the diagnosis and treatment of young school failures. This fact is well stated in a recent bulletin of the Bureau of Education.¹ "While it is necessary for the school to have as part of its own organization all the facilities necessary for diagnosing its own educational problems, it is not necessary or possible that it should have all the resources for treatment. It cannot maintain its own hospitals for the treatment of remedial physical defects. It cannot become a case-working agency for the complete solution of family problems. It cannot assume control of all the recreational facilities of the community. What the school can do — and do far more efficiently than any other agency — is to become a center through which medical and social problems are wisely referred to the agencies of the community best fitted to deal with them. The community-wide contacts of the school and its hold on the family through the child give it a strategic position for the discovery and diagnosis of mental, physical, and social ills which no other agency can possibly equal. Give the school an adequate staff of psychologists, of physicians, and of social workers

¹ Department of the Interior, Bureau of Education. 1923, Bulletin No. 1

for determining the real causes of school failure, give it the necessary resources for educational treatment, and let it refer to the medical, case-working, and recreational agencies of the community for the treatment of the noninstructional phases of the problem "

12. Insanity. — Insanity is a disorder of the mind generally due to disease of the brain manifesting itself by a more or less prolonged departure from the individual's usual manner of thinking, feeling, and acting. The result is bound to be a lessened capacity of the individual to adapt himself to his environment. However, this is rather a legal definition and means little from the medical point of view. For post-mortem examinations do not always reveal a lesion of the brain in the case of persons who have been called "insane." Hence, the phrase "disease of the brain" should be understood in the light of psychology, which regards the brain as the external organ of thought. When the mental life does not function properly, we naturally think of the main organ of intellectual life as being "diseased" or not functioning properly.

Tredgold¹ gives a definition more in harmony with modern views when he defines insanity as "the clinical manifestation of a disturbance or perversion of neuronic function, which may or may not terminate in degeneration." Discussing the question touched on in the last paragraph, he says "It is a technical, neurological question as to whether or not neuronic degeneration always is present in a case of insanity. Further research will help to decide this with finality. It may even be that mental states sometimes exist which simulate insanity and yet have no neuropathological basis."

13. Dementia. — Some quite common types of insanity, and therefore more familiar to the layman, are the various forms of dementia, which means profound general mental incapacity. There is the dementia præcox or premature dementia, which frequently arises in childhood or youth, it betrays itself by peculiar behavior, loss of interest in the outside world, etc. There is also mature dementia, or that of adult life. Senile dementia — mental disintegration — is as the name implies the effect of old age. Finally, there is dementia paralytica — general paralysis — beginning in slight failure of mind and leading up to complete dementia and general paralysis. All the types of dementia are accompanied by neuronic degeneration.

14. The Psychoneuroses. — Modern study of mental disease is

¹ *Mental Deficiency*, second edition, p. 9

beginning to recognize more and more that there are mental and nervous disorders without any anatomical basis, that is, without an alteration in any part of the nervous system. These mental disturbances usually are not of such serious nature as to call for commitment to an asylum, but they interfere with the performance of duty and add immeasurably to life's burdens.

15. Neurasthenia. — We have space to define only those ailments which seem to be more frequent in our restless and strenuous age. Neurasthenia is characterized by a practically constant tired feeling and an inability to sleep when the time comes for rest. It is likewise accompanied by great irritability of temper and want of concentration. It is not yet clear whether it is purely psychogenic, that is, mental in origin, or due to a functional disorder of the nervous system. It is often synonymous with "nervous prostration."

16. Psychasthenia. — Psychasthenia is the name for those peculiar and distressing mental states in which there is an abnormal or irrational fear of anything. It may be fear of fire, of dirt, of high places. It may become so strong as to make its victim unfit for work.

17. Hysteria. — This distemper is marked especially by emotional instability. Besides this there may be a paralysis of certain parts of the body and loss of sensation. Perhaps there is also a latent desire to obtain sympathy or admiration from a friend through these abnormal bodily manifestations.

18. Paranoia. — Paranoia is a form of mental disorder very familiar to the student of social pathology. It is a chronic form of insanity developing in a neuropsychopathic constitution, presenting systematized delusions of more or less definite scope, while in other directions there may be normal mental health. By "systematized delusions" is meant the fixed nature of the false interpretations of reality. The delusions revolve about a definite notion or phantasm. Frequently there is an exaggerated idea of the ego, the person imagining he is some great king or powerful monarch. Often again the paranoiac is subject to the "persecutory mania," imagining that everybody in his presence is plotting evil against him and seeking his destruction.

An especially distressing form of paranoia is that known as "litigious paranoia," in which the victim is constantly having recourse to lawsuits in order to find redress for an imaginary griev-

ance Dr William J Hickson thus describes this condition and the conduct to which it often leads

"The least injustice, be it merited or unmerited, will be sufficient to start endless processes which will be carried through the courts to the highest tribunal. Such cases during the trial constantly interject promptings into the proceedings, seize on every possible technicality, complain about the judges and their own attorneys of favoring the other side, lodge complaints with higher authorities against the judges trying their cases, and try to see such authorities and appellate judges to lodge complaint in the first instance and influence the judge in the second. He sacrifices his business, savings and family in his pursuit of justice, his case being lost for want of sufficient grounds or the laws not covering the case"¹

Dr Bernard Glueck defines this particular type of paranoia as "a mental disorder which is essentially characterized by a gradual and systematic evolution of a well-organized and intricate system of persecutory and grandiose delusions. It is chronic and incurable in its course and does not lead to any appreciable deterioration in the intellectual sphere. The litigious form of this disorder is particularly characterized by a persistent and unyielding tendency towards quarrels"²

This type is interesting as showing the unfortunate effects most types of mental defect have upon social behavior

19. Obsessions.—Another form of mental defect, already referred to in our definition of psychasthenia, but which calls for special mention on account of its frequency and its distressing influence upon the personality, is the "compulsion neurosis" or obsession. German psychiatrists speak of them as *Zwangsvorstellungen* or representations or thoughts which force themselves into consciousness. Hence they may be defined as ideas, impulses, emotions which, even against the will and desire of the person, obtrude themselves persistently and dominate the field of consciousness. Even with the greatest exertion the person so beset cannot get rid of obtrusive trains of thought. Because the patient must yield to the obsession, the name "compulsion neurosis" is used.

For the encouragement of such persons it is to be said that

¹ *Tenth and Eleventh Annual Reports, The Municipal Court of Chicago*, p. 157

² *Studies in Forensic Psychiatry*, p. 134

moral responsibility for thoughts entertained or actions committed under the fearful stress of this compulsion neurosis are not imputable to the same extent as actions committed with deliberation. The best thing to do is to try at least to preserve equanimity during the onset, not to allow oneself to lose courage and to abide by the advice of a prudent and experienced guide.

20. Is Insanity Increasing? — It is often said that insanity is on the increase. But we must remember that there are several reasons for more numerous admissions to institutions for the mentally deficient today than formerly. Parents and relatives who fifty years ago kept a feeble-minded or insane member of the family at home are now willing to send him to an institution on account of the better treatment which will be given in such a place. Again, this "better treatment" has increased the life span of many mental defectives.

It may be admitted, however, that the strenuous activity of modern life, the restlessness which characterizes our time, and the outcropping of new forms of mental aberrations have apparently added to the number of nervous breakdowns and mental wrecks.

21. Age and Sex. — Insanity is practically a disease of adult age as is shown by the fact that the average age of admittance to sanatoria, according to the census for 1910 was about thirty-seven and one-half years. The men outnumber the women in our institutions for the insane by about ten thousand. This may be due to the greater stress — financial and economical — to which they are subject, and perhaps also to greater intemperance and licentiousness. Again, women suffering from mental defect are more frequently kept at home and given home treatment.

22. Causes of Insanity. — A study of reasons for "first admissions to state hospitals for the fiscal year of nine months ending June 30, 1916, for the whole state of New York," gives knowledge of some of these causes. Out of a total admission of 4903 persons, 1488 were declared insane on the basis of an "abnormal make-up." This means that these persons found it difficult to adjust themselves satisfactorily to life's situations. They were constitutionally predisposed to mental breakdown, and so heredity or unfavorable family history enters as a factor. The four other causes in the order of frequency in the above mentioned admissions were syphilis, arteriosclerosis, alcohol, and senility.

Still other causes which are often cited in reports of American

sanitaria are drugs, overwork, domestic and business worries, and mental complexes resulting from unsatisfied desires and emotions

23. Treatment of the Insane. — We distinguish four periods in the treatment of the insane. At first, the insane were more or less left to their fate and allowed to wander aimlessly over the country. Then followed the period of detention which, roughly speaking, reaches from 1400 to 1800. The third stage, called the "humanitarian," was inaugurated when a French physician, Dr Philippe Pinel, was put in charge of the Bicêtre (Insane Asylum) in Paris, in 1792. He introduced individual treatment. Modern advances in psychiatry give us reason to say that now we are in the fourth period — the period of scientific treatment, when insanity is regarded as a sickness and not as a doom.

Occupational therapy, or the providing suitable employment for the mentally afflicted, now plays a prominent part in the treatment, and splendid results have been achieved by its means. One of the world-famous institutions for the mentally diseased is at Gheel, a town in the province of Antwerp, Belgium, twenty-six miles east of Antwerp. This institution, or rather the town, has been famous since the Middle Ages as an asylum for the insane. Hence, we are bound to add that scientific institutional care of these unfortunates is not altogether a matter of our own day.

A great step in advance in treatment of the insane was made in the second half of the nineteenth century when the "almshouse," which until then had been the gathering place for all kinds of social failures and physical and mental defectives, was cleared of criminals, the sick, the criminally insane, the tramp, the idlers, and dependent children, and when these were transferred to special institutions. Specialized treatment now gives hope that the curably insane may be ultimately brought back to some degree of health and efficiency.

24. Suicide. — A disquieting social phenomenon, on account of its frequency in recent years, and one which is connected with the theme of this chapter, is suicide. Is suicide an admission of personal failure in life, or is it a confession of life's worthlessness? Does it spring from economic causes, or is it due to a mental conflict, or is it the desperate act of a psychopathic personality? That in many (some would say most) cases there is mental impairment, or at least temporary derangement, must be admitted. It is for this reason that we refer to the subject matter here.

Of late years the number of youthful and even of "children suicides" has been on the increase. Perhaps this fact is not so alarming when we recall that it is only one of the many signs of the fearful restlessness and changing attitudes of our age toward vital questions of the social and moral order. Yet no one will deny that the frequent violation of the law of God in this matter of taking one's own life, and assuming full dominion over that which belongs to Him, is a menace to social order. Of course, this violation of the supreme right of the Creator is often but dimly recognized. The power of suggestion must also be admitted. The similar methods of taking one's life, under similar circumstances, has led some statisticians to speak of an epidemic of self-destruction.

25. The Salutary Effect of Religion.— Though a gross misconception of one's duties toward God and a puritanic view of life, springing from a false interpretation of the moral law, has often led to mental breakdown, religion has, on the whole, always been and will remain the most inspiring hope and strongest life line for suffering humanity. Over against the number of those who have become religious fanatics, who have embittered their own lives and that of others, and who have turned a social blessing into a source of woe, we place the millions of persons of all times and from all countries who find and have found in religion their highest courage and the strongest urge to well-doing. If this mighty wellspring of individual and social peace and happiness were to run dry then, indeed, would the lot of mankind be deplorable in the extreme. The State can do no better work for the welfare of society than to safeguard a force which, whenever properly used and practiced, has proved an unfailing source of human happiness.¹

TOPICS FOR DISCUSSION

- 1 Why are mental defect, crime, and poverty closely related social problems?
- 2 What distinction is made between feeble-mindedness and insanity?
- 3 What is a generally accepted classification of the feeble-minded?
- 4 Why is the "moron" a special danger to society?
- 5 Is retardation in school always due to mental defect?
- 6 What is the extent of feeble-mindedness in our country?
- 7 What are the Binet tests?

¹ A further development of the subject treated in this chapter will be found in Part VI, Chapter VI.

- 8 What are some of the causes of feeble-mindedness?
- 9 What is society doing for the feeble-minded?
- 10 Is the nervous or psychopathic child necessarily feeble-minded?
- 11 What is the criterion of a psychopathic condition?
- 12 What is meant by the psychiatric study of problem children?
- 13 What is the main idea of Goddard's book *The Kallikaks*?
- 14 What is the standard for judging insanity?
- 15 What are the psychoneuroses?
- 16 What are some causes of insanity?
- 17 Is insanity increasing?
- 18 Why is suicide treated in this chapter?
- 19 Is religion a salutary force for checking the onset of insanity?

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CHAPTER V

UNEMPLOYMENT

1. A Serious Social Problem. — One of the serious accompaniments of modern industrial life is the number of persons who are willing to work and cannot find suitable employment. Day after day they are compelled to trudge along the streets watching the doors of shops, offices, or factories for a sign "help wanted." They scan the columns of the newspapers or throng employment bureaus to get the desired job. And again and again comes the familiar reply, "Nothing doing" or "Things are too dull and we need no help." It was this tragedy that stirred the sympathetic heart of Thomas Carlyle and caused him to write "A man willing to work and unable to find work is, perhaps, the saddest sight that fortune's inequality exhibits under the sun."

2. Involves Other Social Problems. — "Being out of work" means that the individual concerned will probably, if his unemployment lasts long, be under economic stress and become a "social failure." Then the victim may be tempted to theft, burglary, or some other form of "antisocial" conduct. Certainly, many crimes against property in our larger cities, especially in winter, may be charged to unemployment, which often becomes acute in that season. Here then we have a social situation which ought to bestir all those interested in human welfare.

3. What is Unemployment? — There is need to give a clear definition of unemployment, as many persons are the victims of only half-time employment and others are debarred from work suitable to their age, sex, attainments or social standing. Mr. Seebohm Rowntree, the well-known English economist, says that "a person is unemployed who is seeking work for wages, but unable to find any suited to his capacities and under conditions which are reasonably judged by local standards." This is a "working definition," inasmuch as it excludes those who are unwilling to work or are rendered incompetent by a physical or mental handicap.

4. Extent of Unemployment. — For our statistics of this social plague we must depend chiefly upon the reports of the Census Bureau. It has been said, however, that this agency has not furnished any very satisfactory statistics of unemployment. Next in authority come the labor organizations who have supplied some reliable figures. According to a report of the state department of labor of New York the percentage of unemployment varies much from year to year. Out of about 100,000 workers in nearly two hundred unions, the per cent of those unemployed ranged from 5.6 in October, 1905, to 37.5 in February and March, 1908.

A national conference on unemployment took place at New York City, February 27 and 28, 1914. In the final report it was stated that after investigation in New York City during the winter of 1913-1914, the superintendent of the employment bureau of an old and conservative organization — the Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor — estimated on February 2, 1914, that "on any given day this winter there are at least 325,000 men unemployed in this city." At the same time relief agencies in many other cities were swamped. Municipal lodging houses were turning away many genuine seekers after work.

The Report of this national conference also quoted the United States Census for 1900 as showing that 6,468,964 working people, or nearly 25 per cent of all engaged in gainful occupations, had been unemployed some time during the year. Of these 3,177,753 lost from one to three months each, representing on the basis of \$10 a week a loss in wages of approximately \$200,000,000, 2,554,925 lost from four to six months' work each, representing a wage loss of approximately \$500,000,000, and 736,286 lost from seven to twelve months' work each, representing a wage loss of approximately \$300,000,000. Thus approximately \$1,000,000,000 was lost in wages in the year.

5. Unemployment in Other Countries. — Like poverty and crime, unemployment is a problem that confronts all civilized nations. Mgr Parkinson of England says that "during a period of trade depression the level of unemployment may be as high as 9.5 per cent." An abnormal percentage of unemployment will mean that there are hundreds of thousands, possibly millions, without the necessities of life. Unemployment even in the skilled and well-organized trades within the trade union combination stands at

a practically irreducible minimum of about 2 per cent, in good times¹

6. Causes of Unemployment. — One of the most detailed analyses of the cause of this social menace is that of Joseph L. Cohen,² who speaks of regular and irregular causes of unemployment. Among the former are casual nature of certain trades, climatic changes, lack of proper organization in factories resulting in anarchic methods of hiring and discharging workmen, and habitual changes of fashions.

Among irregular causes are uncertainties in political life, like war and changes in legislation, variations in nature, like famines, earthquakes, and storms. To this class of causes also belong the invention of new machinery, a sudden influx of immigrant laborers, abuses of competition and speculation, sweating systems and changes in foreign competition and production.

Some students of economics divide causes of unemployment into individual and social. The former are, for instance, mental and physical defect, accident, and sickness. The latter have been attributed to unskilled and wasteful "social housekeeping," that is, to some defect in our vast social, political, and industrial machinery.

Mr. Parkinson finds three main causes of unemployment, as far as England is concerned. These are (1) Cyclical fluctuations, periods of depression or good trade recurring at fairly regular intervals of years, (2) seasonal fluctuations, which occur regularly during the course of each year, (3) casual labor, or the existence of a large supply of labor.

7. Effects of This Evil. — The bad effects of unemployment weigh heavily both upon the individual and upon society. The evil results of unemployment are chiefly five. It lowers the standard of living. It demoralizes the family, frequently forcing the mother into the ranks of the wage earners. It gradually weakens the worker's efficiency. It leads to political unrest and, since idleness is the root of evil, it may be the cause of indulgence of vicious habits.

These are certainly sufficient reasons to remedy what is primarily a problem of industry. One of the government reports on unemployment admits that "most unemployment has no connection whatever with any fault of the worker."

¹ *A Primer of Social Science*, p. 261

² *Insurance against Unemployment*, p. 30

A gruesome illustration of the effects of unemployment was recently given in the daily press, under the caption "Teamster, out of work, kills his family and self" The article went on to say that at Utica, New York, on February 19, 1927, "George M Taylor, a teamster without work, killed his entire family and then ended his own life with a razor

"The tragedy occurred probably a week ago, but did not become known until yesterday when the police forced an entrance into the tenement occupied by the Taylors and found seven bodies Poverty was apparent when the house was entered The food supply consisted of a little sugar and a small crust of bread Three beds, a kitchen table, a dilapidated chair, and a bench comprised the furniture Taylor's last pay envelope was found empty in a closet It indicated that his last pay was \$23 50 "

8. Remedial Measures.—Socially minded individuals, social agencies, and municipal, state, and federal bureaus have cooperated in solving this problem Prominent men have spoken freely on the extent and ill-boding significance of this plague in the social body Hon John H Kingsbury, New York City commissioner of charities, said "The handling of the unemployed is one of the big failures of this country" J G Hallimond, superintendent, the Bowery Mission, New York, wrote "Bread lines are only a symptom They reveal the existence of a terrible disease in the body politic That disease is unemployment" Professor Henry R Seager, president, American Association for Labor Legislation, affirmed that "more good men have been turned into embittered advocates of social revolution by unemployment than by any other single cause "

As the causes of this "terrible disease in the body politic" are due to maladjustment in the individual and economic order, and as the remedy for such maladjustment must come primarily from the State, let us first consider what state agencies can accomplish When unemployment is widespread the State has, in fact, a duty in legal justice to provide in some way for those out of work Hence, public employment offices have been opened to remedy the situation Ohio was the first state to do this, establishing one in 1890, followed by Montana in 1895, and New York in 1896 These public employment agencies are usually located in the capital with local branches throughout the state Such offices were especially serviceable during the crisis that followed the dislocation in industry when our country entered the World War in 1917

Public works have been recommended as an adequate means for meeting the situation. Such works are irrigation and reclamation of waste lands, road and bridge building, flood prevention, river and harbor work, and construction of public buildings. These works have been especially commended in the President's Conference on Unemployment in October 1921. In his report on this conference President Gompers of the A F L said.

"The present industrial situation can immediately be improved by the use of such of the following measures as the conference may approve and promote. Your committee is convinced that the expansion of public works during the winter of 1921-1922 constitutes one of the most important measures to revive private industry and to check unemployment. We therefore recommend to the conference that methods be formulated and measures pressed for the advancement and augmentation of public works for the following reasons: (1) The best remedy for unemployment is employment. (2) Direct employment is given by public works. (3) Indirect employment is given in the manufacture of the materials needed. (4) The wages paid by those directly and indirectly employed create a demand for other commodities which require the employment of new groups to produce. Thus public works assist in reviving industry in general.

"It is obvious, and it needs no argument to prove the proposition, that the efficacy of this remedy depends not only upon the time when it is applied, but upon the amount of public work undertaken. If the principle is sound, why not expenditures on public works not covered by existing appropriations? Are there no worthy and economically sound public undertakings not yet provided? What about land reclamation, water power, conservation, roads, waterways, canals, and harbors? What of the use of federal credit for housing and for new railroad outlays?"

9. Unemployment Insurance. — This means was first used in Europe, labor organizations and their members contributing to an "unemployed reserve fund." But this measure does not remedy unemployment, but rather the distress which it involves. In other words, it keeps the man who has lost his job from becoming destitute and preserves the family from being demoralized.

The garment industry is subject to "seasonal changes," and therefore special efforts have been made to tide its workers over periods of enforced idleness. Unemployment insurance in the ladies' garment industry works well, according to Mr. James A. Corcoran of New York. In an address on the subject he said

"Ten dollars per week is the unemployment payment benefit, irrespective of the wages earned by the workers. Six weeks maximum benefit is fixed upon as proper for each season subject to a provision allowing for a carry-over of the unexpired portion of a seasonal benefit not utilized. A maximum amount of \$120 per year can be secured by a worker. Unemployment is accumulated during the working season and is combined with the weeks of total unemployment to make up the necessary 396 hours that the worker must lose in a season before becoming eligible for benefit payments. In order to receive benefits, workers must have been members of the Union for one year, and have been employed in the New York market for one year, and have been registered at the registration office maintained by the fund, and have reported regularly during their unemployment" ¹

In Germany the government has inaugurated an unemployment relief fund. The budget committee of the Reichstag on December 11, 1926, approved the increase from 60,000,000 marks to 100,000,000 marks of the supplementary expenditure on ordinary (as distinct from "productive") unemployment relief. This brings the total sum under this head up to 300,000,000 marks (\$72,000,000 in round figures).

The returns of unemployed persons in Germany in receipt of relief during the second fortnight of November were published on December 12, 1926. They show an increase of 53,000, or 4 per cent. Between November 15, 1926, and December 1, the total number increased from 1,316,000 to 1,369,000, and the number of dependents in receipt of allowances from 1,391,000 to 1,461,000. During the whole month of November the number of unemployed in receipt of relief increased by 61,000, or 4.7 per cent. Up to the beginning of November it had been diminishing steadily since April.

In the city of St. Louis, the mayor's unemployment commission had been granted an appropriation and subscriptions totaling \$100,000 in the fall of 1921. In 1922 it solicited an equal sum to provide against unemployment in that year.

A carefully prepared plan under which employees may share in an unemployment fund has been worked out by the Amalgamated

¹ *Third Annual Meeting of the Catholic Conference on Industrial Problems*, Chicago, Illinois, p. 23 (1312 Massachusetts Ave. N. W., Washington, D. C.)

Clothing Workers of America The terms and conditions under which a contributing employee may receive benefits from the fund are as follows

(1) The contributing employee must have made contributions regularly during his employment, in addition, he must have been a member of the union in good standing since May 1, 1923, up to and including the date when he shall apply for benefits, or, if he were not a member of the union on May 1, 1923, then he shall be eligible for benefits after one year from the date of his first contribution

(2) In no case shall a contributing employee receive more than an amount equal to five (5) full weekly benefits in a single year, always, provided, however, that there shall be no benefit payment made hereunder unless there are moneys in the fund available for the purpose

(3) It is agreed that benefits shall be paid only for such involuntary unemployment as results from lack of work and that no benefit shall be paid to an employee who voluntarily leaves his employment or to an employee who is discharged for cause or who declines to accept suitable employment

(4) It is agreed that no benefits shall be paid or distributed for unemployment that directly or indirectly results from strikes or stoppages or any cessation of work in violation of the trade agreement now in force between the manufacturer and the union, nor shall any benefits at any time be paid or distributed to employees who at the time are engaged in strikes or stoppages or who have ceased work in violation of said trade agreement

(5) A contributing employee who has voluntarily interrupted the regularity of the payment of his contributions shall not receive benefit out of the fund in excess of one full weekly benefit for every ten full weekly contributions in a single year

(6) In complete unemployment the contributing employee shall promptly register with the employment exchange, and such unemployment shall be deemed to begin on the date of such registration

(7) Contributing employees who are entitled to unemployment benefits under this agreement, and the rules and regulations adopted by the board of trustees in pursuance hereof, shall receive out of the fund unemployment benefit at the rate of forty per cent (40%) of the average full-time weekly wages of said contributing employee, but in no case in excess of twenty dollars for each full week of unemployment

(8) The payments of benefits from the fund established hereunder shall begin no earlier than January 1, 1924, nor later than May 1, 1924. The date on which such payments shall begin shall be determined by the

board of trustees, and benefits hereunder shall be payable only for unemployment occurring subsequent to said date ¹

10. A New Attitude Toward the Employee. — It is admitted that the social adjustment necessary to remedy the evil of unemployment is not beyond the ability of real statesmanship. Thus Professor J W Scott of England has proposed a plan which seems feasible ². He has developed the idea of "homecrofting," which means that a man, instead of spending all his time making money, should spend at least some of it making food. He believes that a steady supply of food can be gotten from less than an acre of ground, and he suggests "homecroft settlements around every industrial center for industrial workers to dwell in."

Finally, our schools are to be enlisted in securing a new view of the claims of human welfare as a charge upon industry equal in importance to profits. In a paper on "The Contribution of Vocational Guidance to the Prevention of Unemployment," ³ Helen T Wooley said

"Our only real hope of working out a comprehensive plan for the prevention of unemployment lies in generalizing the shift in the conception of industrial ethics which recognizes human welfare as of equal importance with private profits. The process is necessarily an educational one. In our present generation of children, for whom vocational guidance programs are being worked out, are the employers and the workers of the future. Just as soon as society at large feels keenly enough the obligation of doing it, some means can be found of preventing unemployment. Whether the machinery adopted be the stabilization of industry, the provision of unemployment insurance, the use of public works during a period of unemployment, or a combination of methods is a consideration secondary to the creation of a strong common purpose. If the process of vocational guidance can assist in the development of the newer ideal of industry as an instrument of human welfare, then it will ultimately, and at long range, have made the most important contribution toward the prevention of unemployment."

¹ *Documentary History of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America 1922-1924*, Appendix, p. 9

² *Unemployment: A Suggested Policy*. A C Black

³ *Proceedings of the Ninth Annual Meeting of the International Association of Public Employment Services*. United States Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics No. 311

TOPICS FOR DISCUSSION

- 1 Why is unemployment a serious social problem?
- 2 What did Carlyle say about the problem?
- 3 How does unemployment involve other social problems?
- 4 Define unemployment
- 5 Give some figures as to the extent of unemployment and consequent losses
- 6 Is unemployment a problem in European countries?
- 7 Give some of the causes of this evil
- 8 What are some of its effects?
- 9 What are some of the measures for remedying the situation?
- 10 What is the statement of Professor Seager on the evil of unemployment?
- 11 Are "public works" an adequate remedy?
- 12 What is unemployment insurance?
- 13 How did Germany meet the problem in 1926?
- 14 What did St. Louis do in 1921 and 1922?
- 15 What are some of the features of the unemployment insurance plan of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America?
- 16 Is there hope of minimizing the evil of unemployment if a new attitude be adopted toward the employee?
- 17 What other hopes may be entertained for checking unemployment?

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PART V
SOCIAL ACTION

CHAPTER I

YOUR ATTITUDE TOWARD SOCIAL WORK

1. Inspiration from Great Leaders. — By far the greater number of those who have succeeded in social work and have won a place in the social history of mankind were men and women who in no way foresaw the wonderful results which were to be the outcome of their labors and inspirations. We find a notable example of this in the life of St. Benedict, who fled from the allurements of the world only to be followed into solitude and to be chosen as a leader of the greatest social movement of Christianity, and that means the greatest social movement of the world. Coming closer to our time, we have the marvelous organizations which were due to the labors of St. Vincent de Paul. Little did the humble priest dream of the varied outcomes of his endeavors, that he, like Benedict, would leave behind him institutions and bands of faithful imitators and followers and that his work would endure through the centuries, while the strongest political powers melted away. In the life of Florence Nightingale we find a remarkable example of the responses awakened by a voice which was almost inaudible. It was during the Crimean War, when the hearts of the English people were touched by the rehearsal of the sufferings of the English soldiers in south Russia, that the thought came to her to do something for these neglected heroes who were dying for want of proper nursing and medical care. To Crimea she went, altogether unconscious of the outcome of that movement which was to give rise to the vocation of the lay nurse.

2. Contributing Your Mite. — Begin social work with the idea of contributing your mite to the betterment of those who, owing to circumstances, are less fortunate than yourself, or of inaugurating and fostering those movements which will result in the improvement of conditions for the entire community. Let your attitude be unassuming. Do not have the ambition to be a reformer, or an up-lifter, or a philanthropist, above all, avoid the modern craze of

making social action a means of your own social advancement. But you need not shun the publicity which results naturally from popular movements. You will be able to do but little in the beginning of your career, however, you should be satisfied with this small contribution at the outset of your endeavor. Recently an author went to central Europe to write a book upon the political situation. He frankly confessed that after being in Europe for two weeks he could have written a volume on the tangle of the war, but after a study of two years he felt hopelessly confused and utterly incompetent to do justice to the subject. Probably your experience with social work will tally with that of the visitor to Europe. With buoyant enthusiasm you will, in the beginning, be able to solve any difficulty. You will wonder why there is poverty, when every one should be so willing to help a neighbor and the world is overflowing with riches, you will have a ready answer to what you consider the rather trivial problems concerning the feeble-minded delinquent, women's wages, or child labor, you cannot see why it has required such long delay to reach a conclusion. Why, there is no real problem at all—safeguard the delinquent, pay a living wage to the women, and take the children from work and send them to school. Lo! the problem is solved. Simple, is it not? Yes, it is simple to the uninitiated, to the inexperienced. Study the questions for a year, for five years, for ten or twenty years, and the problems will grow in complexity until you may give up in despair of ever reaching a conclusion.

3. Social Progress Is Slow.—All real progress is of slow growth. Our customs and habits are the result of hundreds of years of inheritance and environment, and cannot be modified or changed merely by well-meaning advice or suggestion. We once heard an earnest social student, a priest, describe at length his experience with many poor families. In his sincere belief that he was about to witness the uplifting of those for whom he so faithfully strove, he kept a complete record of his service—the number of visits, the nature of his endeavors for each individual, and the amount of money given or used. When years had passed and notes had accumulated, the priest acknowledged that he was not sure that he had lifted a single individual out of his sphere of life. Much good, no doubt, had been accomplished, but that external change which the young minister of God had hoped for did not come. Visiting nurses will tell you that they have been called to the homes of the poor

and found them so filthy that they themselves set to work with broom and scrub brush, only to return later to be greeted by the same wretched condition. Habits are such that they cannot be changed within a short time. You may take any social evil like leprosy, usury, slavery, poor housing, poor wages, or unemployment, and a close study will reveal that progress has come only after long and patient work — often only after centuries of earnest effort. Do not expect too much, do not hope to see the magic wand of your endeavors transform a community or even an individual in a day or week or month. Progress along social lines must be slow. In nature there is no sudden leap from the cold of winter to the fruits and harvest of summer. Spring must intervene, the warmth of sunshine and the genial rains of April and May must bring forth bud and bloom, and time must be allowed for growth and maturity. So must it be with the unfolding of any social progress, it must be slow, it requires time for growth and maturity. Haste may in many cases bring disappointment, and not only disappointment but utter failure. This advice in regard to the slow progress of social reforms will be useless for the experienced worker, for he or she has learned by observation that patience, and more patience, and still more patience, is required. The experienced social worker will tell you that social progress is slow, very slow. To be enduring it must of its nature be but slowly matured.

4. Attitude toward Failure. — Failure! The social worker must be prepared to meet with failure. Recall what was said in regard to the earnest work of the young priest. In his experience the results did not come as he had hoped and anticipated, moreover, he had to acknowledge that much of his labor had been in vain. You may reply that he was not a trained worker. Probably he had not attended a school in practical methods, but he had had many advantages, and later showed his executive power when as an archbishop he ruled over more than a million subjects and proved that he was a man of remarkable ability in organization. He gave the incident to exemplify the very point on which we are insisting, namely, that the social worker will often meet with failure. A clear idea of this matter is most useful for any one who wishes to engage in the social betterment of an individual or a community. Failure will often be the result! It may come at times from undue haste or poor judgment on the part of the one who has undertaken the work or from the perverse nature of the

subject, it may result from a combination of causes which cannot be foreseen or forestalled, but it will come — failure at times will come! Be assured of this, and be ready with strong heart to press on with the plan or to undertake other plans when the first has failed.

5. Determination to Persevere. — This mention of failure, and often a multiplicity of failures, brings us to another consideration — a determination to persevere in social work despite its first disappointments. Nothing is gained in this world without effort and continual effort. When you have mastered obstacles, you are strengthened in your resolution to work on bravely and perseveringly. Once you have decided to undertake any social work, be equally determined in your decision to persevere in it. The very failures which come in the beginning may be utilized as stepping stones to a later victory. While you are failing you are learning. Is this not true? Does not the failure of today become a lesson for tomorrow? Does not the obstacle in your path convince you that you must make a determined battle to gain the goal? It may be that you are not suited for social work, it may have been a mistake on your part to undertake it. However, the time to reach a decision in the matter is not when you have come face to face with a difficulty or disappointment or even failure — blank failure. Never stop then, work on and on in spite of every difficulty and obstacle. If after some months or some years you doubt the advisability of your undertaking any special work, think over the matter seriously and take counsel with those who are familiar with your endeavors and are in a position to guide you wisely. We are referring here to those who have chosen social work as a life's vocation, or who have planned to undertake some special reform or endeavor, for the obligation of helping our neighbor and therefore of engaging in some social activities should not be altogether put aside.

6. Facing Opposition. — In any social work which you may undertake or in which you may participate, you will meet with opposition. Be prepared for opposition, be resolute despite all opposition. "Opposition" does not mean an open discussion or a frank criticism of methods or movements. Always welcome a discussion of any matter under consideration, for such careful and enlightened interchange of thought will prevent many mistakes and will in the end hasten rather than retard progress. We refer to an opposition which is unfriendly, amounting at times to open hostility.

and seeking to impede a whole organization. There are many let-good-enough-alone people, and there are many good-enough-for-the-past people. They do not wish to be disturbed. In their opinion, the world has gone on well enough, and will continue to go on without trained social workers or any new theory of social duties. This class of people, and they are not a few, will rise up in open hostility to anything that is new, but the opposition which comes from them should be set aside, gently and quietly if possible, and yet with a determination to push the reform or the movement to a successful conclusion. We are simply warning you against any surprise when such opposition is encountered. When Harvey discovered the circulation of the blood, he was met with ridicule and abuse, and this from the medical profession. His great work brought him only poverty and contempt. But it must be remembered that his experience is the rule and not the exception, for leaders who come forward with new ideas must expect opposition from those who would not be aroused from their complacent view of life. But do not let opposition awaken within you a spirit of antagonism. You will gain more by quietly carrying out your ideas than by combating every one who may disagree with you or oppose you. Here are demanded those characteristics of tact, patience, and forbearance so needful to the social worker. You will notice that we are demanding many virtues of you, but in doing so we are paying a tribute to your vocation.

7. Ingratitude Often the Only Reward of the Social Worker.

— When you have worked for others and given to others, will they come in large numbers to thank you? Will your name be on the lips of grateful people? Recently the press gave a photograph of the American Red Cross in Russia, representing a poor woman kneeling to kiss the hands of one who had brought her food from across the sea. But a close study of the picture would convince any one that it was meant for publication, the scene was staged. We would not accuse the poor Russian people of ingratitude, but we would remind you that ingratitude is often the only token handed to the social worker. For such ingratitude you must be prepared. If it does not come, if you are remembered by a grateful crowd, then you are to be congratulated. To meet with gratitude is not the experience of every one who has gone out to better the social conditions of a community. Human nature has not changed since the time when the Divine Master cured the ten lepers and

found only one, and that a stranger, to return to thank Him. The other nine went their way, thoughtless and ungrateful. Even children, who are generally considered polite, not only accept without a word of thanks the good things which you bring, but look with envious eye upon a basket which is intended for the neighbors. Distribute toys to poor children at Christmas and finally give a child a larger doll than the others have received, or give little Tommy a few larger marbles than were at first distributed, and back to your hand will come many a small doll and many a small marble. Envy has done its work and ingratitude is rampant. Such is the experience of social workers. Be prepared to accept ingratitude. Be courageous and do not relax in your endeavors on account of ingratitude.

8. Banishing All Misery.—There are so-called philosophers who look forward to a time when all poverty and all misery will take wings and fly away from this world of ours, a time when social science or sociology or evolution will find a cure for all social maladies. According to them we are witnessing the travail through which we must pass while the immutable laws of nature work out their final destiny. Such a blessed state awaits the human race, but its final happiness will not be in this world or in this life. No proof has ever been offered to convince a thoughtful student that life will evolve until it brings mankind to a state of perfect bliss. No. These are only dreams or useless speculations. Social evils may be mitigated and often forestalled, but there is no evidence that social problems will cease. Some years ago a too hopeful professor in one of our large universities put forth the claim that never again would a plague sweep through the land. He ridiculed those of the past who in times of great misfortune went to the churches to pray, instead of using the edifices for lectures on mosquitoes and preventive medicine. But the terrible epidemic of the "flu" came during the Great War and carried off more of the human race than any other plague known to history. Physicians were just as hopeless in treating the disease as were the doctors during the time of the black death in Europe or the yellow fever in the United States in the later seventies. If you enter upon social endeavor under the belief that you will witness the end of human misery, or that you will inaugurate a movement which eventually will drive all human ailments from the world, you are laboring under a delusion.

9. Social Work Allied to Religion.—But we may be dwelling too long on the darker aspects of your vocation. It is certainly not our intention to discourage you, but rather to set forth views and suggestions that are helpful. Let us turn to some motives for engaging in social activities and to the lives of those who may be an inspiration to you. At the very outset we must carefully note that such motives cannot be separated from those of religion. They must be closely allied to religion, they must be a part of religion, they must be outward manifestations of religion. In a recent book on sociology an author repeatedly refers to the sociological point of view. Those who are sociologically inclined, so he explains, will not steal, will obey the laws of the country, will be fair to their neighbors, will be good citizens and true to themselves. But why, we ask, make any new claims for sociology? The science, as such, has set forth no new motives for the practice of personal or civic virtues. It has simply taken the virtues long taught by Christianity and presented them in a new garb, or often obscured them by a false teaching, for much of sociology, committed as it is to a materialistic evolutionary theory and denying man's spiritual nature, has robbed social work of the motives which make it sacred. We would not be interpreted as condemning the study of sociology. We would acknowledge its contributions to the field of learning and encourage its further investigations, but in so far as it has lowered the ideals of social work and has sought to replace the higher and holier motives of religion by the untrue and uninspiring teachings of pagan evolution, it has no claim to our study or respect.

10. Social Work Cannot Be Substituted for Religion.—We hold, then, that religion offers the highest and holiest motives for social endeavor. The greatest achievements for the betterment of humanity have come from the inspiration of religion, and while the primary object of religion is man's relationship to his Creator and the salvation of his soul, it has for a secondary object every form of human welfare which rings true and which acknowledges the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man. Social progress under the ægis of religion has a glorious record indeed, and Christianity has been the most potent of its agencies. Any one who wishes to be well informed on the subject of social history must linger long upon those pages which recount the struggle of humanity for its betterment, a struggle which for centuries knew no other guide but religion and no principle which conflicted with the true

idea of God and the true nature of man. Social service is secondary to religion, needs the help and guidance of religion, and often sinks to an unworthy purpose when it unhappily discards the guiding principles of religion. One who tries to find in philanthropy a substitute for religion is dishonoring religion and depriving social activity of its source of inspiration.

11. Christ and the Saints as Models for the Social Worker.—

Let us dwell upon the influence of example in our aspirations and endeavors. The four Gospels are the best of social textbooks, they are the best social histories. For nearly two thousand years leaders in human welfare had them for their principal guidance. In the life of their Divine Master these leaders found the exemplification of every virtue required for their high calling—the tact, the patience, the long-suffering, the perseverance, but above all, the love, the sympathy, and tender devotion without which every form of philanthropy becomes arid and fruitless. The principles which Christ set forth and the impetus which He gave to social endeavor found a generous response. There are imitators of Christ all down the centuries, and in their lives we must seek for the most perfect expression of the life of the Divine Model. I refer to the lives of the saints, and I do not hesitate to state that such biographies should be studied by social workers. Here again we must recall the difference between the primary and secondary end of religion. Its primary end is the love and service of God and the salvation of the soul, but its secondary end, which embraces the love and care of the neighbor, cannot be separated from the primary. You may have regarded the accounts of the saints as being an aid only in the primary purpose, herein you were wrong. The saints, after Christ, were the greatest of social workers. Read the lives of the saints. Read them with special emphasis upon the part which they played in the social uplifting of humanity. But there are others who rank high as social workers in the Church, although the aureole of canonization has not come to them. Such lives will impress you with the fact that great movements for the happiness of mankind have been closely connected with religion. But we would not limit your reading or your inspiration to such holy lives. The biography of Florence Nightingale, the life of Clara Barton, *The House on Henry Street*—these and similar books will awaken within the social worker a desire to do something for the good of humanity.

TOPICS FOR DISCUSSION

- 1 Name five social leaders of the past
- 2 Name five social leaders whom you have met and who gave you inspiration
- 3 Do problems grow in complexity as we study them? Why?
- 4 Why are these questions more complex now than in the past?
- 5 Why is social progress slow?
- 6 Mention three social problems, and show that progress in reform has been slow
- 7 Should we expect failures in social endeavor?
- 8 Should we be discouraged when we meet failures?
- 9 Can we learn by our failures?
- 10 What is the difference between opposition and discussion?
- 11 Should we favor frank discussion?
- 12 Have great leaders and inventors usually met with opposition? Mention three names
- 13 Should opposition be met by a spirit of antagonism?
- 14 Will others always be grateful for work done for them? Give your own experience
- 15 May we hopefully look forward to a time when there will be no social problems?
- 16 Why will evil remain in our midst?
- 17 Why cannot social work take the place of religion?
- 18 Has sociology substituted a higher motive than religion?
- 19 Can we find in the life of Christ and the saints examples of heroic social work?
- 20 How may the lives of others be a help and an inspiration to us?
- 21 Mention the names of three well-known social workers of recent times

CHAPTER II

OBLIGATION OF SOCIAL SERVICE

1. Teaching of Christ on the Duty of Social Service. — “ And all nations shall be gathered together before Him, and He shall separate them one from another, as the shepherd separateth the sheep from the goats

“ And He shall set the sheep on His right hand, but the goats on His left

“ Then shall the king say to them that shall be on His right hand Come, ye blessed of my Father, possess you the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world

“ For I was hungry, and you gave me to eat I was thirsty, and you gave me to drink I was a stranger, and you took me in

“ Naked, and you covered me sick, and you visited me I was in prison, and you came to me

“ Then shall the just answer him, saying Lord, when did we see thee hungry, and fed thee, thirsty, and gave thee drink?

“ And when did we see thee a stranger, and took thee in? or naked, and covered thee?

“ Or when did we see thee sick or in prison, and came to thee?

“ And the king answering, shall say to them Amen I say to you, as long as you did it to one of these my least brethren, you did it to me

“ Then he shall say to them also that shall be on his left hand Depart from me, you cursed, into everlasting fire which was prepared for the devil and his angels

“ For I was hungry, and you gave me not to eat I was thirsty, and you gave me not to drink

“ I was a stranger, and you took me not in, naked, and you covered me not, sick and in prison, and you did not visit me

“ Then they also shall answer him, saying Lord, when did we see thee hungry, or thirsty, or a stranger, or naked, or sick, or in prison, and did not minister to thee?

“ Then he shall answer them, saying Amen I say to you, as long as you did it not to one of these least, neither did you do it to me

“ And these shall go into everlasting punishment but the just, into life everlasting ”¹

¹ St Matthew xxv, 32-46

St. Matthew is repeating the words of Christ in regard to the Last Judgment. While it was evidently the intention of Christ to bring home to His hearers the evil of sin and the punishment that awaited the sinner, there are secondary lessons from which we cannot escape.

2. Secondary Lesson But One That Is Binding. — We may read this passage and find in it only the first lesson. That lesson is clear and unmistakable, but once we are interested in social topics and social conditions we discover in the words of Christ this secondary meaning. We claim, and rightly, that religion has an answer for every social problem. We claim that no social problem can be answered apart from religion. Here we take a stand that is diametrically opposed to some leading sociologists who would seek in social programs and legislation a cure for every evil. In this passage we see, in no vague words, our social obligations. We may be inclined to think that, apart from our duty to our family and relatives, Church and State, there rests no further obligation upon us in regard to those in need. Christ has answered this in incisive words. We cannot escape from the conclusion that our obligation is a most binding one. We are not free to devote our energies and our money to help those less blessed than ourselves. We have the injunction of Christ to help those in need. If we neglect this duty, it is like the neglect of any other, and we must pay the penalty. You may call this His social doctrine, or a part of our religious obligations, call it what you will, it lays upon us a responsibility which we cannot shirk, if we wish to enter the kingdom of heaven.

Christ has not spoken in any vague or unmeaning way. Elsewhere in the gospel He has told us of our duties in regard to loving and serving God, in the passages which we have quoted, He points out our duties to our neighbor, and here our neighbor is every one who is in need. No distinction must be made between strangers or acquaintances, between friend or enemy. We are to bring help to those who are in need, we are to do this or the gates of heaven will be closed against us.

3. The Duty of Social Work Not Fulfilled by Simply Giving Alms. — Much has been written of late about the social value of the gospel. From the very dawn of Christianity this social teaching of the gospel has been recognized. Some have appealed to it as being primarily social, certain it is that the followers of Christ understood that they had a social message and social obligations.

Some there are who would restrict this work to almsgiving and would consider it a fulfillment of their duty when they had tossed a coin to a beggar or given a useless garment to the poor. There are some who would discontinue the use of the word "charity," for in their mind it implies only a giving and does not seek for any scientific or preventive method, but they are wrong who apply the word charity only to helping the beggar and the outcast. Probably there has not been in the Church a saint with a more tender heart than St. Vincent de Paul, yet his interpretation of charity was so strict that he favored a law which would force every beggar and tramp to do manual work.

Frederic Ozanam has placed before us in eloquent words both our duty and our motive in social service:

"Help is humiliating when it appeals to men from below, taking heed of their material wants only, paying attention but to those of the flesh, to the cry of hunger and cold, to what excites pity, to what one succors even in the beast. It humiliates when there is no reciprocity, when you give the poor man nothing but bread or clothes or a bundle of straw, what in fact, there is no likelihood of his ever giving you in return. But help honors when it appeals to him from above, when it occupies itself with his soul, with his religious, moral, and political education, with all that emancipates him from his passions and from a portion of his wants, with those things that make him free and make him great. Help honors when, to the bread that nourishes, it adds the visit that consoles, the advice that enlightens, the friendly shake of the hand that lifts up the sinking courage, when it treats the poor man with respect not only as an equal but a superior, since he is suffering what we perhaps are incapable of suffering, since he is the messenger of God to us, sent to prove our justice and our charity and to save us by our works. Help, then, becomes honorable, because it may become mutual, because every man who gives a kind word, a good advice, a consolation today may tomorrow stand himself in need of a kind word, advice, and consolation, because the hand that you clasp, clasps yours in return, because that indigent family you love, loves you in return, and will have largely acquitted themselves toward you when the old men, the mothers, and the little children shall have prayed for you."

4. Social Work Must Be Scientific.—Since there is an obligation on our part to engage in works of charity, and since this work is not fulfilled by simply giving alms in a desultory way, the question arises, how we are to equip ourselves so as to perform this duty of charity in a satisfactory and intelligent manner. Social

work, like any other work, has underlying principles, social work, like any other work, must join together guiding principles, serious investigation, and thoughtful application. There was a time in the past when life was simple, when every one knew his neighbor, and when the wants of an individual were known to many, under such conditions the greater part of one's duty of charity could be fulfilled without a thorough study of methods of application, but in our complex city life such simple methods are no longer sufficient. Even those who are not professional social workers have their social duties, and they as well as social workers can improve by a study of methods and principles. Those indeed are mistaken who imagine that they have nothing to learn in regard to their social duties, and who maintain that the study of social problems is but a fad.

5. Salient Features of the St. Vincent de Paul Society. — Every Catholic charitable association should work in harmony with other associations of the community, both public and private. Let us take, for instance, the St. Vincent de Paul Society. A prominent social worker of long experience recently said in a public lecture that he considered the St. Vincent de Paul Society when properly conducted the best organization of its kind in the United States. He gave two reasons for his statement. First, the St. Vincent de Paul Society follows parish lines, it seizes upon a division that has already been made after a most careful investigation in regard to the needs of a locality and the number of persons. The St. Vincent de Paul Society simply makes use of this natural division which it finds and which greatly simplifies its work. Secondly, the St. Vincent de Paul Society insists on personal investigation of every case. Individual members may at times be delinquent in this work of personal investigation, but individuals may fail to do their part in any association. As a matter of fact the St. Vincent de Paul Society does expect this individual investigation on the part of its members. These two factors, the proper division of the community and the personal investigation, are strong elements in the St. Vincent de Paul Society.

6. Working in Harmony with Other Organizations. — It may be maintained that every association insists on a like division of the members of a community, but in reality there are many cities with only a very limited number of centers from which social work is done, whereas the St. Vincent de Paul Society in the same city may

have numerous centers. The question arises. Can the St. Vincent de Paul Society, which is so well organized and which so completely covers the field of its social activities, ignore all other associations and live its life apart? Can it or should it refuse to cooperate with public societies of the same nature or with various private associations? Since the spirit of the St. Vincent de Paul Society is so different from that of many other charitable associations and since it seeks as a primary object the spiritual good and the sanctification of its members, would it not lose some of this spirit by cooperating with other associations? There are some very zealous workers in the St. Vincent de Paul Society who are opposed to every movement which would in any way connect the association with other societies. In so doing they are greatly limiting the advantages of the society and in some instances are entirely frustrating the end which they seek.

7. The Social Exchange.—When Frederic Ozanam founded the St. Vincent de Paul Society and when it began its splendid work in the midst of an almost entirely Catholic community, there may have been little need of cooperation. But circumstances have changed since the time of Frederic Ozanam. Let us limit our discussion to one of our large American cities. In each of these communities there are many charitable organizations whose work overlaps, these associations are conducted by the various Protestant churches, by the Young Men's Christian Association, by the Salvation Army, and by the Jewish population. Then there are public organizations which are engaged in the same social endeavor. It often happens that there is a duplication of work, that instead of being of assistance to each other one society really retards the ends of its collaborators. To avoid this overlapping and to give unity to the work, there is in every large city a clearing house generally known as the "social exchange." The object of this agency is primarily to keep neutral records of cases handed in by the various organizations throughout the city. Every public and private agency is requested to send in to this central office the name and address of each family that is receiving assistance. It is objected by some that the poor should not be humiliated by having their names recorded in this exchange, but the objection is an entirely futile one. These records are open only to the authorized investigators of the different agencies and are not for the public. Therefore the good name of the poorer families in no way suffers.

by being registered at this central office. Not only should such an office be encouraged and financed, but every association in the community should work in harmony with it. In fact, it would seem to be indispensable in conducting social work in our large cities.

It is a known fact that poverty can become commercialized and that many families are pauperized and made dependent members of society by the ease with which charity is bestowed. There are families whose members find it easier to beg than to work. There are families in which not only the parents are engaged in begging but where children are systematically taught to visit one agency after the other and to bring home with them any object which can be secured. In a room of a poor family in Chicago investigators found dozens of pairs of shoes for which the members of the family had no use. The shoes were simply allowed to accumulate as the result of a practice among the children of bringing home any object which they could secure at school or from any organization. There are families which make a practice of asking help from as many agencies as possible. It is customary with them to malign those very associations from which they have received help and to claim that they have been refused all assistance. In this way they make the rounds from one agency to the other, always declaring that help has been denied them. One object of a central bureau is to combat such an abuse. This bureau, if it receives the proper support from the various organizations, is always ready to give any information in regard to a family that is seeking help. It notifies each agency that the family is being assisted by some other association and thus avoids a duplication of the work.

8. Results of Cooperation.—Apply these few principles to the work of the St. Vincent de Paul Society. Suppose that in a parish this association is looking after the temporal welfare of twenty families whose names and addresses have been registered at the central city bureau. What is the result? If these families seek aid from another association, they are notified that they are on the list of the St. Vincent de Paul Society and that they should seek assistance from that agency only. With this information, the members of the St. Vincent de Paul Society are better able to figure out just what will be the needs of this family. If the family was seeking help from several associations, either the work would be duplicated or there would be a risk of having some part of it

neglected. We urge upon our Catholic associations the serious obligation of cooperating with all private and public organizations.

Underlying this whole question of social service, there are certain principles which must prevail if the work is to succeed. There are numerous associations working for ideals which they think should prevail. Let us not be hostile toward these organizations even if their work and their ideals differ from ours. Without sacrificing any principle, let us seek to cooperate with others, but at the same time let us be sufficiently interested to spread abroad the ideals and principles which are so sacred to us. We gain nothing by holding aloof from our fellow social workers. We make a mistake if we imagine that in methods we have nothing to learn from others.

Thomas Maurice Mulry, a man of long experience in directing the activities of the St. Vincent de Paul Society in the United States, pleaded earnestly for cooperation among the various social organizations. He wrote:

"Let it no longer be said that we are so deeply and irrevocably wedded to the methods of the past that we fail to appreciate the things demonstrated by experience to be efficient in curing social ills. In all social movement the society's aid is gladly welcomed. Cooperation should be one of the distinctive features of our work. Do not hesitate for fear dangerous precedents might be established. For more than a quarter-century it has been my honor and privilege in charity work to associate with men and women of all religious denominations, and I am proud to say that I can bear cheerful testimony to the fact that everywhere they are to be found absolutely fair and anxious to do the proper thing. Of course, there were to be found bigots, just as they are found among our own, but happily they were in the small minority, for the American spirit of fair play has always predominated. As a consequence of my own personal experiences, I make bold to assert that it is the duty of every Catholic, priest and layman, to enter actively into every worthy welfare movement. They are numerous, it is true, yet they have been the means of arousing the public to a just appreciation of the needs of a class of dependents, handicapped and utterly unable to help themselves. Today there is a closer relationship existing between the various religious denominations in charitable work than ever there has been in the past. This cordial feeling has been brought about entirely through the Society of St. Vincent de Paul, and it can be truthfully said that many advantages have been derived from this change in the condition of affairs."¹

¹ Meehan, Thomas F., *Life*, p. 188.

TOPICS FOR DISCUSSION

- 1 Is interest in social work a matter of choice?
- 2 How many persons of limited means exercise their duty in regard to social work?
- 3 In what secular social organizations in your community are you especially interested?
- 4 In what religious social organizations are you interested?
- 5 Is teaching Christian Doctrine social work? Is it primarily so?
- 6 Are the seven corporal works of mercy social works?
- 7 Should money be given to beggars on the streets?
- 8 Have you inspected the working methods of the public and private social agencies of your community?
- 9 Do you attend meetings where social problems are discussed?
- 10 Have you made it a point to become acquainted with social workers so as to cooperate with them?
- 11 Do you consider contributions to the church and the parochial school as exercising social duties?
- 12 Do you consider that orphan asylums and hospitals are social agencies?
- 13 In Catholic institutions, for instance in Catholic orphan asylums, great stress is put upon the religious training of the children. In what way does this increase the social advantages of such institutions?
- 14 Has the Church always been interested in social work?
- 15 Do you think the time will come when the Church can relinquish her interest in social work and permit it to pass to secular organizations?
- 16 Can the fulfillment of our social obligations be perfected by a study of principles and methods?
- 17 What do you consider the best features of the St Vincent de Paul Society?
- 18 What are the special needs of your community?
- 19 Do you feel that you have taken sufficient interest in the good of the community?
- 20 In what way can you fulfill your obligations in regard to the social needs of the community?

CHAPTER III

PRACTICAL ASPECTS OF SOCIAL WORK

1. Problems Near at Hand. — You may have heard of the man who went forth to seek his fortune and, after a fruitless quest of half a lifetime, returned home to find the coveted gold on his own property. Do not seek for outlets for your activities in distant communities, at least, do not do so until you have probed into the nooks and corners of your own town or city. We venture to make the assertion that even in the smallest towns there can be found social problems. For the present we shall not consider rural communities, as their many and pressing difficulties require special treatment. We wish to give you some suggestions which will focus your attention upon your own environments.

Our remarks are not intended for those who by study and long observation have learned approved methods, but rather for those who are looking forward to active service. No doubt you have heard of surveys, those scientific investigations which furnish the necessary material for intelligent cooperation, without which there is much waste of time and money. To make such a survey or even to understand its technicalities must come as a task at the end of your study. For the present we propose to give some hints for exercises of a less scientific character, at the same time to test your ability as an investigator and to forecast your probable success or failure. Begin with the assumption that there are social problems not only within your community but within your neighborhood — problems which you have only to reach out and touch, which you may have brushed against daily, and which you are at least partly able to correct.

2. Starting Your Own Survey. — Begin with your own survey. Take a notebook and write down a list of social problems such as you conceive them. You should be able to make a column of thirty or more such titles, but if the number is smaller, do not be discouraged. You will remember that discouragement was entirely

excluded from our program. Continue with your selected list, and transfer to a second page topics which in your opinion may have application to local conditions. You now have something for a basis of investigation. How are you to verify your figures? How are you to discover whether you have chosen the subjects with any degree of certainty? There is such a thing as blundering in a business and succeeding despite the blunders. In fact, there are certain persons who seem to be perpetual blunderers and yet always successful. We would not hold such a condition as an ideal one, and yet we believe that most of us will blunder in the beginning of our social endeavors. Only do not injure others by making mistakes, and try to injure yourself as little as possible. Undertake this private investigation. It may be a rather unscientific investigation and a somewhat blundering investigation, but it will serve the purpose of discovering what are the local social problems and whether they tally with your carefully prepared sheet.

3. The Social Uplifter.— You must not let others into your secret, above all, you must not let it be known by any of the poorer classes that you are intent upon reforming them or uplifting them. People of the lower class hold reformers in contempt, even when condescending to take charity from their hands. A close scrutiny of the local paper or papers, an informal visit to local clubs and reports of social organizations, or a talk with directors of any public or private agency of charity will give you sufficient information for a start. In our large cities with their mixed foreign population there are literally dozens of social organizations carrying out effective programs, and yet these may be but little known beyond the limited horizon of their own membership. But even in smaller communities, after a thoughtful and careful investigation, one will be surprised to find so many societies.

4. Creative Imagination Useful for the Social Worker.— Did it ever occur to you that a social worker should have a creative imagination and should to some extent be a poet? All successful organizers must possess imaginative minds. They picture to themselves the ideals of life and the beauty of life, and then they set to work to find the exemplification of this ideal; and not finding it they seek to create it. If you have no high ideals, you will be forced along with the rest of humanity or will follow where others lead. If you have no ideals, you cannot check up on the evils which may be at your very door clamoring for correction. We cannot conceive

of a successful social worker who does not love the æsthetic — the beauty in literature, in painting, in sculpture, in architecture, in music, and above all, in a good and godly life. Some such qualities as these you must have when you go out to help others in making their lives more happy. We wish to dwell further upon this theme and to illustrate it from the lives of those who have inaugurated movements which have come down to our time.

5. Mme. Pastoret's Success in Founding Day Nurseries. — A little more than a hundred years ago a pious French woman, Mme de Pastoret, set out one morning on her rounds of charity in Paris. It was to be an eventful day for her and for social workers, eventful in this sense, that from its experiences was born an idea — an idea that was to fructify and to yield lasting fruit. Climbing a narrow and rickety stairway to the fifth story of a tenement house to assist a poor old woman, she heard cries issuing from one of the rooms. In vain she endeavored to gain admission to the apartment, for no one replied to her repeated knocking, and the door was securely barred. She recounted the incident to the old woman whom she was visiting and learned from her that many of the poor mothers in the building were forced by circumstances to leave their younger children and babies at home while they went out to secure the means of a livelihood. Returning to the room below, Mme de Pastoret was grieved to hear the cries, which by this time were louder and had changed to moans, which evidently indicated suffering and distress. Again she made a fruitless effort to enter the room and, failing, sought the aid of a locksmith who forced the door. On the floor the visitor found a baby with its arm broken, and after further search discovered a second child who had hid under a bed in fear of punishment for neglecting its charge. The baby had fallen from a table and broken its arm, and she, the little keeper, had hidden away in fright, leaving the helpless sufferer to its fate.

Mme de Pastoret had imagination and ideals. At once she thought of a plan of renting a house and taking care of all the children in the neighborhood while their mothers were away. Many ladies of the wealthy class became associated with her, and the Sisters of Charity of St. Vincent de Paul later undertook the direction of the work. Under their wise administration the plans were developed, and this first day nursery of Paris became a model for others. The idea spread rapidly. Before many years had

passed every large city of France had one or more similar institutions. In 1853 there were fourteen day nurseries in Paris caring for more than six hundred children. Objections against the movement came from the health department, but a careful investigation proved that every case was carefully examined and that new subjects were kept apart until it was evident that they were suffering from no contagious disease. Ill-informed people protested that mothers were being separated from their children, but they promptly withdrew all objections when they learned the conditions under which children were received. The incident illustrates the point that one who wishes to succeed must have the initiative to seize upon problems and apply a remedy. Even in communities where agencies are well organized, there will remain the necessity of independent action and sane thinking.

6. Pauline Jaricot and the Society for the Propagation of the Faith.— You have no doubt heard of that organization known as the Society for the Propagation of the Faith. You may imagine that it owes its conception and foundation to the wide experience of ecclesiastics, for who but they would know the wants of the Church in foreign lands and would have the authority to carry on such a world-wide project? The approbation of the Church and the aid of experienced men were required to perfect and carry on the idea, but its happy beginning was largely due to the inspiration of a young girl, Pauline-Marie Jaricot, of Lyons, France. A letter came to her one day from her brother who was a student in Paris, and from it she learned of the extreme poverty of the House of the Foreign Missions. Here was a call! Here an opportunity! Young men who had dedicated their lives to the conversion of foreign lands needed the very necessities of life! Was it not enough that they would suffer when they had reached the field of their labors? Should they not have at least support and help while they were preparing for their noble calling? Many individuals, even among the best disposed, would have sent a donation according to their means and would have thought no more of the matter. Their obligation had been satisfied. What else was there to do? Precisely, what was there to do? What was to be done? This was the question which Pauline Jaricot asked herself. She had a vision of the future, she had ideals, and she had imagination. Not that she saw far into the future, not that she pictured the truly wonderful results of her humble beginning, still the vision was there! In

1820 she formed an association of those who were willing to contribute to the House of the Foreign Missions, but knowing the poverty of her associates, she asked but the mite of a penny a week. This little society was without regular meetings, without officials, without records, without a set time for prayer. It was so simple that it could scarcely be called an association, but there was a common bond of union and a set purpose, and above all the members were people of Christian lives. Soon the enrollment rose to one thousand. Four hundred dollars was the first amount which went out from this small beginning. We have not time to trace further the history of the Society of the Propagation of the Faith. In 1823 Pius VII approved it and enriched it with indulgences. It soon spread throughout France and to nearly every country of Europe, and three hundred bishops encouraged its growth. Finally, in 1840 Gregory XVI in an encyclical recommended the Society of the Propagation of the Faith to all the churches of the world.

7. The Narrow Limits of Your Own Community.— You must investigate conditions for yourself. This can be done or at least commenced within narrow limits, for in every community, even the smallest, there are some social difficulties awaiting observant and willing persons. You will make blunders, only do not blunder against others in such a way as to impede or permanently stop all progress. A high ideal is demanded on your part, an imagination, or, if you wish to call it so, a creative power. Let us see how these various qualities were exemplified in the action of Pauline Jaricot. She had no experience. Probably she had never heard of any technical word on the subject other than that of charity and the seven corporal works of mercy. She was a simple girl with a desire to help others and to do so with the consciousness that in helping others she was pleasing God. But she had ideals, she had vision, she had imagination. She pictured the pagan people of other lands crying out for those who would come and bring to them the knowledge of the true God, she pictured the lot of those who were preparing for this sublime mission of preaching the word of God, and by assisting those in preparation she would be the means of bringing the light to those who sat in the shadows of darkness. So much for the ideals and the yearnings, but what of the method? She was a poor girl, and the pittance which she could give would be like a single drop of water in the ocean. She had no influential friends and none who were rich. Remember, too, that she lived at a time

when women did not move in public, so much as they do now, and did not take part in political or social matters. Can you imagine a more hopeless and uninspiring combination of circumstances? But Pauline-Marie Jaricot found a crying social need, found courage to undertake a remedy, to seek for means, and to carry the project to a successful issue. In your community, as in hers, there awaits a social problem. Go out and find it!

8. Slumming Condemned. — Would we advise you to go "slumming"? Pardon us for even using the term! We hold in abhorrence all that it means! It is often the cloak for prurient curiosity; it wants heart and soul and every characteristic for which we plead, it is often found to be the occasion of real temptation. Spare the poor and the wretched the idle gaze of curiosity. Their lot is hard. Why make it harder? They shrink from public view. Why force them to stand before the torturing scrutiny of others? The information which we insist on your garnering need not give an anxious or disquieting thought to any one, it need not create any suspicion, it need not attract any notoriety. Let it be as gentle and unobtrusive as the visit of a Little Sister of the Poor. It was long the custom in many Catholic lands for women of high birth to veil their faces when they went through the wards in the hospitals, the object being not to attract the attention of others by their works of mercy. If done with the right spirit, both men and women can commingle with those who need help without causing any thought of annoyance or suspicion. We have a remarkable example of this winning and unobtrusive manner in the life of Frederic Ozanam. When a young law student in Paris, he cared little for the dissipating amusements of the great city but spent his evenings in visiting the poor sections and bringing assistance to its wretched people. He played with the children and pleased them, and won their affection by bestowing little gifts, he sat on the doorsteps and talked to the elder people, he bent down like the lowly Master Whom he sought to imitate and became like those whom he wished to help. Day after day saw him ingratiate himself with this class of poor people. His coming was hailed with noisy delight. No one thought of him as an investigator or as a curious interloper. He came to those whom he sincerely loved, he came with no reproof, with no harsh word. He was always welcome, and by these daily visits to the poor he saw the necessity of concerted work for their good. He made his own survey, a very unscientific survey some

may call it, but by personal contact he learned what was needed, and of his experience and his inspiration came the St Vincent de Paul Society

9. Advantages of Preventive Work. — We have made no reference to the distinction between preventive work and remedial work. Here, as elsewhere, the old adage, "A stitch in time saves nine," holds good. Preventive work is always to be preferred to remedial work. It is better to prevent a wound than to cure a wound, it is better to prevent poverty than to remedy poverty, it is better and wiser to prevent the spread of disease than to check disease, it is better to provide wholesome water than to pay the doctor's bill for typhoid fever, it is cheaper to provide for nutritious food and fresh air than it is to watch by the bed of the dying tubercular patient, it is better to legislate for supervised recreation for the young than it is to reform them in institutions. However, even with the best of intentions and with the most perfect systems there will always be a call for remedial action, and poverty will never be entirely banished. It was the dream of Horace Mann that universal education would eradicate all evil, but his brilliant apotheosis and his prophecies were but the outpourings of an inexperienced leader, and he himself lived to realize his own mistake. The poor we will always have with us, and there will always be a call for works of charity.

10. The Word "Charity" to be Retained. — Charity! Let us dwell for a moment upon the use of the word "charity." Catholic social workers will not discontinue the use of the term. Much has been said of late about discarding the word "charity," for "social action," or "social service," or "social activity," or "philanthropy," or some similar phraseology. It is maintained by some that charity is unscientific, that it creates poverty instead of correcting it, that it consists in tossing a coin to the beggar and still leaving him a beggar. With Catholics charity connotes a work of mercy done in the name of God, the work is performed because the doer understands that such actions please God, that the one for whom the work is done is a child of God, and that God has promised a reward. Charity then is built upon supernatural motives, it implies a necessary connection between social action and religion. It in no way refuses to cooperate with others for a common good, it counsels every form of scientific endeavor, and it looks to the most effective means. Those who object to the use of the word "charity" wish

at the same time to discard religion and substitute in its place a soulless philanthropy, theirs is a pitiful philosophy, which would build hospitals for cats and dogs and would place human beings in the same category as irrational animals. We will admit of no other word as a substitute for the hallowed word — "charity."

We have endeavored to impress upon you that you cannot engage successfully in social work without knowing something about conditions and that the knowledge of such conditions must, to a large extent, be the result of your own investigation, even though this investigation is wanting somewhat in scientific character. It is only when you have delved into things for yourself that you will be prepared to understand the nature of a scientific survey. We have tried to point out some cautions which may enable you to avoid pitfalls, and yet we have granted that there will be small mistakes and blunders, only we have asked you to make them as small as possible and of such a nature that no one will be injured by them, and that you yourself may profit by your own mistakes.

11. The Widening Influence of Experience. — Years ago when we became interested in social work, we felt the necessity of becoming acquainted with conditions in one of our large cities. We avoided everything in the way of prying into the private affairs of others. Everywhere we were received with the greatest courtesy and cordiality. The work grew by leaps and bounds. Wherever we found social problems, we discovered avenues leading to other problems. We have read of late of the wonderful excavations in the buried cities of Egypt, where one royal tomb has been found, a clue has been given to secret passages leading to other crypts and other tombs. Social endeavors in our large cities become at times as complicated as the underground passages of ancient and forgotten monuments, and yet if we investigate patiently, we can find the unknown ways. Much of the matter, as we gather it up, will at the time seem fragmentary and ill-related, but as we progress, we can knit together the broken threads and weave them into a texture in which there are order and beauty. Frequently when discussing this matter with the members of the St. Vincent de Paul Society, we have frankly told them that if they reached a period of life when, in their opinion they had nothing to learn from the experience of others, they should immediately retire from all active work in their organization. We have learned much from a study

of the wonderful Jewish organizations. Our Jewish friends have not the extra burden, which we Catholics bear, in regard to the education of their children, many of them, too, are wealthy. Hence it is that they can devote far more money to social service than we can afford to do, here, as elsewhere, they are scientific in their methods. On the other hand, we Catholics have our great religious organizations, where men and women receive no salary, and here we have an advantage enjoyed by no other public or private institution.

We have the inspiration which comes from religion and the motives of charity as set forth by the Divine Teacher, if to these advantages we add careful study and research, we should be able to do in our time what others have done in the past. While we have more difficulties to face, our increasing experience should enable us to meet the complex questions of our day. Go out and see for yourself, investigate for yourself, learn for yourself, with such experience and such enlightenment will come a new zest and greater efficiency in social work.

TOPICS FOR DISCUSSION

1. Are people inclined to seek for problems far away and to neglect those at hand?
2. Do small communities have social problems?
3. In proportion to their size have large cities greater problems than small communities?
4. Can unscientific investigations be helpful?
5. How does a creative imagination assist a social worker?
6. Why are lofty ideas necessary?
7. Why did Mme. de Pastoret succeed in her work for day nurseries?
8. Was her success due to a spirit of leadership?
9. To what would you attribute the success of Pauline Jaricot in starting the Society of the Propagation of the Faith?
10. Why did not eminent ecclesiastics begin the work?
11. May simple investigations be made without technical knowledge?
12. Is long experience required for simple investigations?
13. What special difficulties did Pauline Jaricot have to meet?
14. Do women of our time have to meet the same difficulties?
15. What objections are raised against slumming?
16. Why are some investigators always welcome?
17. How did Frederic Ozanam show his prudence?
18. Why are preventive methods to be preferred to remedial methods?
19. Was the distinction between preventive and remedial methods known in the past?

- 20 Does the word "charity" connote a want of scientific procedure?
- 21 Why should the word "charity" be retained?
- 22 Why does one problem lead to another?
- 23 What are some of the special advantages and disadvantages enjoyed by Catholic social workers?

CHAPTER IV

SOCIAL INFLUENCE OF THE TEACHING OF CHRIST

1. Contradictory Interpretations of the Social Teaching of the New Testament. — In the history of social work or reform two events stand out so prominently as to eclipse all others the Mosaic Law and the Teachings of Christ. The exposition of the social value of the New Testament has created a literature of extensive proportions. In the various interpretations of the words of Christ we find teachings that are diametrically opposed to each other. Christ, according to one school, was concerned only with a heavenly kingdom, He came to point out the way of salvation. In vain do we seek in His doctrine anything of social value. Others go to the opposite extreme and find in the teachings of Christ a purely philanthropic and social doctrine. Socialists have claimed Him as their champion and even as their founder, anarchists have appealed to Him to support their most nefarious doctrines. The truth lies between these two extremes, Christ came primarily to redeem and save the human race, but in His teachings we find doctrines of the greatest social value. He came to point the way to righteousness, but in doing so of very necessity He taught social virtues and elevated social life. These social teachings of Christ can be neglected by no one who is wrestling with the principles or who is busily engaged in the works of social reform.

In treating of the social value of the New Testament, we meet an obvious difficulty at the very outset, social life has grown so complex in our modern civilization that little of value can be learned from a study of the simple ways of a comparatively small nation of two thousand years ago. The question is not an idle one. But we wish to remind the student that we have learned much and still learn much from the study of the literature, art, and architecture of the small Greek nation which flourished more than two thousand years ago. Those who have seriously studied the gospels have assured us that we can profit in social work by a study of the

teaching of the New Testament. But to avoid all mistakes and misconceptions, it is necessary to grasp the difference between principles of social action and programs of social action.¹

2. Social Principles as Explained by Christ.—Christ gave principles of social work. For this reason the social value of the New Testament can never become obsolete, and the social teachings of Christ will ever remain an inspiration and a guide to social workers and students. If Christ had constructed programs of reform, His social work would have been shortlived, for programs are in their very nature limited and circumscribed, they belong to one place or time or people, they grow antiquated and obsolete. On the other hand, principles of social reform do not change, they are for all times and all places and all people, they are as universal as the principles of morality with which they are indissolubly connected, they remain fixed and immutable, while their applications reach out to every phase of social work. Had Christ descended to the petty level of a social reformer and busied Himself with methods of procedure, His teaching would not have extended beyond the confines of Palestine, for the social problems of that little community differed widely from those of the larger and more powerful pagan nations. And even if by clever programs He could have influenced the neighboring nations, a few generations would have seen the end of His methods of reform.

Christ taught temperance not only in drink but in the use of food and other sensible pleasures. "Take heed to yourself lest perhaps your heart be overcharged with surfeiting and drunkenness and the cares of this life."² And the ancient inspired writer had declared, "How sufficient is a little wine for a man well taught, and in sleeping thou shalt feel no pain. Watching, and choler, and gripes, are with an intemperate man."³ "Wine drunken with excess raiseth quarrels, and wrath, and many ruins. Wine drunken with excess is bitterness of the soul."⁴ In many of his epistles did St. Paul inveigh against the evils of drink. "Neither fornicators, nor adulterers, nor drunkards shall possess the kingdom of God."⁵ Such are the principles in regard to the evils of drunkenness. They found their application in the time of Christ and before the coming of Christ, and they are guides for

¹ See Part II, Chapter I

² St. Luke xxi, 24

³ Ecclesiasticus xxxi, 22-23

⁴ *Ibid*, xxxi, 38

⁵ Corinthians vi, 9

all nations and all classes of people Had Christ wished to set forth programs for the prevention or eradication of the drink evil, He would have legislated in regard to the number of vineyards, the percentage of alcohol, the various ways of making and selling wine, and the amount that could be disposed of to each individual according to his age or occupation or bodily strength Take another example, that of slavery Had Christ set to work to liberate slaves, no doubt such a movement would have been followed by a revolution which would have shaken the foundations of the then civilized world One word from Him at the height of His power, and slaves would have arisen against their masters In the following centuries the world would have sickened of the shedding of blood as a consequence of His teaching He taught the common brotherhood of man All men, free and slaves, master and servants, were the children of the same Father in heaven and partakers of the *graces of redemption* and were heirs of the same eternal happiness St Paul carried on the work of Christ and pointed out that both master and servant had duties, there was no essential difference between them, there was neither Greek nor Roman, master nor slave¹

3. Necessity of Programs.—We would not have you gather from the above paragraph that we ignore the use of programs In fact, programs are necessary in all social work Any number of principles without programs to carry them into actual conditions of social life would be futile But of the two, principles are more important It is easier to work out programs than it is to set forth principles, only an earnest plodder is required for the former, but for the latter there must be a trained thinker who has a correct outlook on all the varied and intricate problems of life Mistaken principles are far more injurious than wrong programs These latter are more readily observed and corrected, but the former, from their abstract nature, are not so easily detected

To set forth how the principles which were enunciated by Christ gradually found their application in social life would be to rewrite the history of the past twenty centuries Suffice it to say that there is scarcely a phase of social life, scarcely a problem, which the world has faced since the dawn of Christianity, which has not found its solution in the teachings of the New Testament In molding

¹ For a discussion of this subject, see Spalding, Henry S, S J, *Chapters in Social History*, Chaps I, II

the individual, in recasting the elements of family life, in gradually liberating the slave, in civilizing and Christianizing the nations of Europe, in combating leprosy and usury, in building hospitals and schools, in tempering the punishments of convicts, in fighting social evils either by preventive or curative methods, the gospel has been found to contain guiding principles for every age and every generation ¹

4. Evil Effects Which Follow the Departure from Principles. —

It is an interesting study, too, to compare those periods in which the principles of the gospel were accepted and acted upon, with those in which the same principles were cast aside and others substituted in their place. The religion of Christ has for its object the salvation of the soul of man, but religion, which tends to purify and elevate the soul, works a corresponding regeneration in the whole life of man — his political life, his economic life, and his social life. Moreover, religion must touch the very fibers of his life in things artistic — in poetry, song, and painting. The daily press gave out that, owing to business immorality, fires in New York City for 1921 amounted to forty million dollars. This was only another way of stating that the commandment, "Thou shalt not steal," was not being observed in the business relations of New York. The necessity of religion in the social life of man could be shown from a study of any period, but perhaps it stands out most prominently in the period which followed the invention and use of machinery at the close of the eighteenth century ²

5. Christ Began with the Sanctification of the Individual. —

Let us suppose that a foreigner comes to the United States. He desires citizenship. What must he do? Certain formalities are required of him. He must present evidence that he is a man of good moral character, he must study the Constitution of the United States so as to understand his duties as a citizen, he must appear before federal officials and signify his intention of becoming a citizen and also of keeping the laws of the land. When he is in the presence of witnesses, he is given a document, and with that document comes citizenship. He walks out of the office to all appearance the same man, and yet he has something which he did not have before, something which the eye cannot detect, but something real. That man who a few minutes before was an alien is now a citizen, he has the right to vote, the right to hold office, the right

¹ *Ibid*, Chaps V, XIV.

² *Ibid*, Chap XXV

to the protection of the laws of the land and the flag of the land. The mighty nation of the United States is behind that man to see that he gets justice in every part of the world.

In regenerating the world, Christ began with the individual. Every man, woman, or child received into His Church was admitted through the sacrament of baptism. By the reception of that sacrament the newly admitted member of the Church became in a true sense an heir of heaven and of all those spiritual blessings which Christ had brought to His Church. Just as citizenship has given certain rights to the foreigner, so too has baptism given supernatural rights and claims to the member of God's Church. He is coheir with Christ, claiming by right the riches of supernatural blessings. He may now partake of the other sacraments, the spiritual riches of the Church are his and by a holy right. His works become meritorious before God, and each day spent in the service of God will be rewarded in the next life. As a member of God's Church, he participates in the communion of saints. The saints and angels are his friends, united to him by a bond far more holy and lasting than anything which earth can give. This individual soul has been sanctified by the touch of heaven. Before him have been placed the highest ideals of Christ, the greatest of teachers.

6. Spiritual and Social Regeneration. — No purely social teacher has ever held up before disciples the high ideals which have been given to this new adherent of the Church of Christ. To him have been explained his duties to God, to himself, to his family, to his neighbor, to his country. He has a complete philosophy of life, he knows the origin of his existence, he knows the end or purpose of life, and he knows the means which he is to use to attain this end. He knows the things which he is to do and the things which he is to omit. Nothing is vague, nothing is undefined. His religious duties are so intertwined with his life as a member of society that they cannot be separated. The more nearly he reaches the ideals of his religion, the more perfectly does he conform to all his social duties. If a false spirit of independence, socialism, or liberalism should tempt him to grow remiss in his religious duties, in so much will he fall short in his social obligations. His religious and his social duties have become not only interrelated but inseparable.

7. Work for the Individual Affects the Whole of Society. — Christ began with the regeneration of the individual, and in making

the individual more perfect in the spiritual order, He made him a better member of society. In studying the social effect of the gospel, we must begin by observing its influence upon the individual. What was effected in the life of St. Paul in a striking way was brought about in the lives of tens of thousands by the preaching of the gospel and the gradual working of grace. The lives of St. Agnes and Fabiola are but the living exemplifications of generations of other virgins who in the midst of a pagan world embraced all the pure doctrine of Christ. It was a slow process, changes of the heart are usually so. Habits of virtue are molded only by degrees. There was no sudden leap from the pagan world to Christian life. Christ wrought upon the individual and in the sanctification of the individual was effected the sanctification of society.

8. The Social Value of the Beatitudes.—It must not be imagined that in preaching to the individual Christ enunciated a doctrine which had only a vague and indefinite social value. Here we must recall the difference between principles and programs. The principles which Christ set forth touched the very heart of man's social life.

"Blessed are the poor in spirit for theirs is the kingdom of heaven

"Blessed are the meek for they shall possess the land

"Blessed are they that mourn for they shall be comforted

"Blessed are they that hunger and thirst after justice for they shall have their fill

"Blessed are the merciful for they shall obtain mercy

"Blessed are the clean of heart for they shall see God

"Blessed are the peacemakers for they shall be called the children of God

"Blessed are they that suffer persecution for justice' sake for theirs is the kingdom of heaven

"Blessed are ye when they shall revile you, and persecute you, and speak all that is evil against you, untruly, for my sake"¹

What must the voluptuous Roman have thought when he first met those words "Blessed are the clean of heart for they shall see God"? In this single sentence there is a whole world of social meaning—it includes upright living and the abandonment of all the degrading vices of Roman life. Even the very services of the heathen temples with their impurities must go! This single sentence spells the doom of pagan society!

¹ St. Matthew v, 3-12

"Blessed are the poor in spirit" Here again we have crowded into a single sentence the terse doctrine that overthrows every preconceived idea of the Roman's attitude toward the poor In pagan life to be poor was to be an outcast, without friends, with mercy from no one The poor were no better than the animals of the fields, if they could not render service, then death was their only lot We cannot delay here to depict the lives of the poor and the slaves A religious teacher had arisen who called their lot a blessed one; blessed if they would accept it as coming from a loving Father who watched over them, blessed if they accepted it and praised Him for His gifts, whether their gifts were riches or poverty

If those who are in the mad rush for swollen fortunes would only ponder the simple message of Christ, "Blessed are the poor in spirit," and if they took the lesson to heart, we should not need laws against trusts and profiteering One of the weakest points in our laws is that they do not change the heart but simply regulate the exterior conduct Christ in His social teaching went deeper than do any modern laws, He touched and molded the very heart of man by putting forth His sublime doctrines

"The Gospel has laid the foundations of justice by setting forth in its full light the true nature of man, his real worth, and his high dignity All our rights are based on our human nature As soon as the principle is accepted that we are substantially equal, it follows that, whatever be the relation of one man to another, rights, and consequently duties, arise on both sides No one can claim the right to the absolute disposal of any one — neither the adult of the child, the man of the woman, the father of the son, the husband of the wife, the master of the servant, the middle class of the lower, nor the city of its citizen Man obeys, but he belongs to himself As no man exists without a soul, so neither without his rights" ¹

See the value of the soul of man "Knowing that you were not redeemed with corruptible things as gold or silver, from your vain conversation of the tradition of your fathers But with the precious blood of Christ, as a lamb unspotted and undefiled" ²

When we seek for the value of a beautiful gem or sparkling diamond, we inquire how much it will bring in the market How

¹ Garriguet, Leon, *The Social Value of the Gospel*, p 157

² I Peter 1, 18-19

much will men pay for it? What is its price? What was the price of a soul in the mind of God? Of all souls — souls of kings and subjects, of free and slave? The answer is that God so valued the souls of men that He paid for those souls the ransom of His own blood. By such teaching was a pagan society regenerated, and with its regeneration was given a Christian civilization and a new social order. The change was brought about through the new life of the individual.

9. Influence on the Family. — We have seen the influence which Christianity brought to bear upon the remolding of the individual and how this spiritual regeneration made the convert to the new religion a better citizen. But not only was the individual purified and ennobled by the teachings of Christ but the family was purged of its two most destructive elements — divorce and polygamy. Christ was not only a teacher, but He chose to be a model unto all who would embrace His doctrines. Even had He taught without setting an example, His words would still remain the most perfect and sublime of all teachers, but much of their effectiveness would have been missing. Although Christ was to remain in the world but thirty-three years, still until the age of thirty He lived a simple home life in the obscure village of Nazareth. He gave but three years to the training of His apostles and the founding of His Church, and devoted the greater part of His life to setting forth the virtues of domestic peace and happiness. One of His first public acts was to grace the festivities at a matrimonial feast, and He worked His first miracle for the hosts and guests at that banquet. As a child He set to children the perfect example of respect and love of parents. As a young man He labored under the direction of His foster father, St. Joseph, and by the work of His hands sanctified and ennobled labor.

10. The Example of the Holy Family. — In the Holy Family at Nazareth we see the personification of every domestic virtue. There we find an application of the basic rights and duties of authority. The head of the household was the least perfect of the family, yet to him the other two pay the homage of obedience. As constituted head of the family, Joseph had the right to command. We see in the Holy Family a reverence for the law, both civil and ecclesiastical. We find a joy and contentment in the midst of circumstances of a social inferiority. We observe a readiness to labor at the most menial duties of the household. Many a workman

toiling in field or mine or shop has drawn consolation and courage and strength from the thought of the God-Man, Who deigned to become the poorest of men to be an example to all succeeding generations. Many a wife in the monotonous and trying duties of the household and many a maiden in the office, shop, or factory, has been given new ideals and new hopes by pondering upon the life of her who was both virgin and mother. Many a child has learned the simple lessons of obedience and respect for authority by listening to the recital of the virtues of the Child Jesus. Into the very heart of the home came Christ. His coming was to redeem and save the souls of every member of the home. To save souls was the prime object of His mission, but of very necessity He made that home a better social unit. No amount of physical comfort, nothing which wealth or science can bring, will take the place of the social lessons and virtues which are the direct outcome of the teaching of the Gospel.

The family is the bulwark of our social order, so are unity and indissolubility the bulwarks of the family. We find in the teachings of Christ no uncertain words against both polygamy and divorce. He preached unity of marriage and indissolubility of marriage.

Reason, unaided by the light of revelation, points the way to the monogamous marriage. History will show that those nations have reached the highest sphere of civilization in which monogamy is the recognized form of marriage. To Christ and His Church we owe the most positive doctrine upon the subject of the monogamous marriage. No one would be admitted into His Church who did not accept His requirements in this regard. His teaching was absolute, it admitted of no exceptions. Such was the design of God from the beginning, and to this ideal mankind should return. It seemed but folly to preach such a doctrine among the corrupt Greeks and Romans, yet the doctrine was preached, and its acceptance found its way into the family as Europe became Christian. There were times in the history of the Church when rulers would have come as willing adherents to the teaching of Christ and with a promise to bring their people with them, but they made the stipulation that they be allowed to keep their many wives. With such prospective converts the Church never for a moment dallied. Her teaching commission was plain. This was one of the essential points of observance—the Christian family was to be and will ever be monogamous.

Through it and by it Christ gave to social life one of its strongest safeguards

Indissolubility of marriage is opposed to divorce. Not only did Christ insist on the monogamous marriage, but He further insisted that the bond which united man and woman in holy wedlock could be severed only by death. He raised matrimony to the dignity of a sacrament and thereby conferred on it special graces for the performance of all the duties connected with the married life. He reiterated the designs of God in the life union of man and woman, and on the indissolubility of that tie He set His seal of approbation. Christ made the marriage bond a lifelong union, because He knew that in such a union there were given greater opportunities to serve the purposes of the salvation of souls of both parents and children. The severance of the marriage bond would tend to frustrate all the supernatural helps which religion could give. How could religion influence the lives of those who were separated by jealousy and discord? How could it sanctify the lives of those who had in their hearts only rancor and hatred which had driven them apart? How could children be raised in Christian virtues when they had before them the example of a broken home and broken fidelity? It could not be. There could be none of the high and beautiful virtues of the Christian home if divorce rent that home asunder. And what is said here of the religious life of the family is equally applicable to it as a social unit. The stability which Christ gave the home primarily for supernatural ends also made it the stable unit of the social order. Here as elsewhere we must treat man as a whole, we cannot separate his religious or supernatural life from his social life. Whatever is enacted to strengthen the spiritual nature of man and his relations to God must ever make him a better member of the social order, and whatever is done to make the family conform to Christian teachings of very necessity makes that family a stronger unit of the State.

11. Misinterpretation of Christ's Social Teaching.—It has ever been the sad lot of man to misconstrue and misinterpret the holiest teaching and innocent actions of Christ. The Divine Master complained of this treatment in plaintive words. Even His own disciples at times misunderstood Him. We must not wonder, then, that men in succeeding generations have failed to grasp the teachings of the Master. Often, too, there have been evil-minded men who found it to their advantage to claim for themselves the support

of the teaching of Christ or to endeavor to disparage His holy doctrine in the eyes of their fellow men. It is not surprising, then, to find that so-called social reformers have endeavored to prove that Christ advocated their nefarious doctrines or, if it suited their purpose, that Christ was an enemy of the social order. It is a canon of just criticism that words and sentences must be interpreted in relation to their context. Often the whole of a treatise must be taken if we would arrive at the conclusions of a writer. This canon of criticism finds its application in the study of the New Testament. To know what Christ taught, we must know His whole doctrine. His words and His life have been set forth in simple language and in condensed form. For a just interpretation of the words of Christ we must remember that He was both God and man. Sometimes He spoke with divine authority, for instance when He claimed to be one with the Father, and sometimes He spoke as a man, as when He said that He had not a place whereupon to lay His head. If we keep these two truths in view, we shall be saved many a mistake in reading the pages of the New Testament.

12. Christ Did Not Teach Laziness but Trust in Providence.

— There are a few passages in the gospels which, if taken by themselves, would show that Christ was an enemy of social life, but if taken in relation to their context and studied in the light of the other teachings of Christ, all difficulty vanishes. We cite only a few of the passages, but they are the more difficult ones, and give the solution to other problems of the same order.

"Behold the birds of the air, for they neither sow, nor do they reap, nor gather into barns and your heavenly Father feedeth them. Are not you of much more value than they?"

"And which of you by taking thought, can add to his stature one cubit?"

"And for raiment why are you solicitous? Consider the lilies of the field, how they grow: they labor not, neither do they spin."

"But I say to you that not even Solomon in all his glory was arrayed as one of these."

"And if the grass of the field, which is today, and tomorrow is cast into the oven, God doth so clothe: how much more you, O ye of little faith?"

"Be not solicitous therefore, saying: What shall we eat? or what shall we drink, or wherewith shall we be clothed?"

"For after all these things do the heathens seek. For your Father knoweth that you have need of all these things."

"Seek ye therefore first the kingdom of God, and his justice, and all these things shall be added unto you

"Be not therefore solicitous for tomorrow, for the morrow will be solicitous for itself Sufficient for the day is the evil thereof"¹

Christian people of all generations have found solace in these words of Christ How beautifully do they explain the providence of God for His children Only those who are bent on finding an antisocial interpretation of the words of Christ could so twist the meaning of the text as to show that Christ taught a doctrine of carelessness and laziness His doctrines were in no way calculated to smother the desire to work or the ambition to excel Christ Himself had worked, His foster father had worked, and His disciples had been men who toiled One of the first reactionary moves of Christianity was to ennoble labor The hermit worked, the priest worked, and later nuns and monks worked Work was something holy, something to which there had been given a divine touch After following the Master for three years, Peter went back to his nets Paul labored as a tentmaker

"Among the clergy manual labor was quite customary, and still more so was this the case among the monks The clergy lived amongst the poor, sharing their toil, while the monasteries were not only refuges for the indigent in distress but also centers of work and industry, setting an example to all to bestir themselves to overcome nature and the desolation which war had brought upon the country, in this wise they were a priceless instrument for improving what was threatening to perish entirely When the populace saw with their own eyes how, in the province of Valeria, Severus, the priest, whom they revered for his holiness and about whom we are told in Gregory's *Dialogues*, condescended to plant the vineyards, or how Quadragesimus, the subdeacon, pastured his flocks of sheep, they could not fail to learn a lesson and to esteem the more the humble toil of the countryman

"Paganism, Roman and Greek, in its prejudice, had cherished a mistaken contempt for work

"In heathen times people had left agricultural work, the crafts, and personal service to despised slaves, as occupations unworthy of a free citizen Aristotle held that intellectual superiority and nobility of mind were incompatible with personal labor, while Cicero says, 'All workmen are engaged in what is sordid and it is useless to seek for nobility in a workshop'²

¹ St Matthew vi, 26-34

² Grisar, Hartmann, *History of Rome and the Popes in the Middle Ages*, Vol III, p 268

"According to Sozomen, Socrates and Basil it was quite usual in the East for the clergy to earn their own living by engaging in some handicraft or by cultivating the soil. The Fathers taught that work was to be elevated by higher motives and by referring it to God. Highly cultured men, like Gregory Nazianzen, lauded manual labor as an agreeable recreation. 'Who will give us back those days,' he writes to his friend Basil, 'when we worked together from morning till night, felling timber, building walls, planting and watering trees, and so tiring ourselves with wheeling of heavy barrows that our hands were blistered for long after?'

"It was just the same in the West, where conciliar decrees impressed on the clergy the need of working, urging them to earn by their toil at least a part of their sustenance. In the Frankish Church especially, ministers of the altar were noted for the zealous way they labored, and for their efforts to induce the people to do likewise.

"Christianity, by furthering in the West the principle and practice of work, accomplished two things. It overcame the handed-down habits of the ancient world which wasted its strength, both mental and physical, in indolence and pleasure. At the same time it harnessed to useful work that wild craving for action shared by the new nations, whose vigor and inconsistency it tamed, making them settle down to a life of order and self-denial."¹

If some people misunderstood the words of Christ, they were few. Christ simply wished to teach the people to put the things of heaven above those of the earth, to show that man lived not by bread only, that God the Father would care for those who first sought the kingdom of heaven. His teaching was simple. It was understood by those who listened to Him and by those who embraced His teachings as the centuries went by. Only those who, like the pharisees, wished to entangle Christ in contradictions put the double or sinister meaning to His words and maintained that He taught idleness and that He curbed lawful ambition.

13. Christ Did Not Teach a Doctrine of Hate.—"If any man come to me, and hate not his father, and mother, and wife, and children, and brethren, and sisters, yea and his own life also, he cannot be my disciple."²

"Think ye, that I am come to give peace on earth? I tell you, no, but separation.

"For there shall be from henceforth five in one house divided three against two, and two against three.

¹ Grisar, Hartmann, *History of Rome and the Popes in the Middle Ages*, Vol III, p 269

² St. Luke xiv, 26

"The father shall be divided against the son, and the son against his father, the mother against the daughter, and the daughter against the mother, the mother-in-law against her daughter-in-law, and the daughter-in-law against her mother-in-law" ¹

In interpreting these words, we must remember that Christ was God. He could not teach a false doctrine, and He had the authority to impose upon all mankind the obligation of accepting His words. He did not leave His apostles free to teach any doctrine, neither did He leave the people free to accept His doctrine or reject it.

"And he said to them: Go ye into the whole world, and preach the gospel to every creature.

"He that believeth not shall be condemned" ²

These are simple words. They can have but one meaning. Those who hear the message of salvation must accept that message, if they refuse to do so, they forfeit the graces which Christ has merited for them by His death, and in forfeiting these rights they lose their souls. But Christ, being God, knew that difficulties would arise for many in the acceptance of His teaching, that wives would be converted where husbands would still remain pagans, that husbands would be drawn into the Church before their wives yielded assent to the new doctrines, that children would disagree with parents and parents with children, friends with friends, and relatives with relatives. In such a disagreement what should the disciple of the new religion do? Should the husband renounce his convictions and abandon the religion of Christ to keep peace in the family? Should the wife prefer the love of her husband to her duties to God? Should children so interpret the commandment of love that they must please and obey their parents even if the parents opposed the teaching of God? Or let us suppose that a convert to the Christian religion is disowned by his parents and loses his inheritance. Is he to abandon God and keep his money? These are some of the problems which Christ foresaw. Many of them are encountered in our day when people suffer for conscience's sake. Under all such circumstances Christ gave not only the advice but the command that God must be chosen first. Our duty to God comes before all other duties. It was a simple lesson, a practical lesson. Those who seek

¹ St. Luke xii, 51-53

² St. Mark xvi, 15-16

to find in the words of Christ that He taught hatred and enmity among friends are distorting His meaning

14. Christ Did Not Condemn Riches. — Christ did not condemn riches as such. He singled out Zaccheus, who was a rich man, as his special friend. He made no secret of His attachment to the family of Lazarus, Mary, and Martha. He dined with the wealthy and distinguished Simon. The women who followed and ministered to Him must have had means. Christ did warn those who were wealthy not to let their money usurp the place of God in their hearts. He warned them that their wealth might be a temptation to take them from the service which they owed to God. He did not condemn private property, nor did He set a limit upon its rightful ownership or use. He taught contentment with one's lot. He pointed out a higher life of perfection for those who wished to be His closest imitators. He made the renunciation of wealth a virtue, but He did not make the retention of riches a vice. Moreover, He pointed out to the rich that they had certain duties. They were the stewards of God, they were to give to those in need. The dire punishment which came to the rich man who refused to Lazarus the crumbs which fell from his table will ever be repeated as a warning to the rich. Christ stated clearly that He would accept as done to Himself any act which was bestowed upon His suffering poor. Nay, not even a glass of water given in His name would go unrequited. Christ gave words of advice to both rich and poor, but nowhere did He condemn riches as unlawful.

TOPICS FOR DISCUSSION

- 1 Did the New Testament teaching reject that of the Old Testament?
- 2 What is the relation between the social teaching of the Old and the New Testament?
- 3 Why did not the New Testament lay down a series of programs for all time?
- 4 Was the New Testament intended primarily to teach social doctrines?
- 5 Will social advantages always follow as results from the teaching of the New Testament?
- 6 Give principles in regard to the education of the orphan. Give a program for the same.
- 7 Give principles in regard to the education of the delinquent child. Give a program for the same.
- 8 Select three social questions, and explain principles and programs in their regard.

- 9 Why can Christ be called the greatest of social teachers?
- 10 Was the social teaching of Christ of primary importance in His doctrine?
- 11 Can we solve present social problems without the teaching of the New Testament?
- 12 How is it that the simple teachings of Christ can find an application in the complex social life of our time?
- 13 Did not the Greeks and Romans develop a social order before the advent of Christianity?
- 14 Is social life always improved by the teaching of Christianity?
- 15 Was the social teaching contained in the beatitudes of primary importance?
- 16 Is our social order built on the teaching of the New Testament?
- 17 Will we ever reach a civilization which can ignore the social teachings of the gospel?
- 18 Did the gospel teach laziness and want of thrift?
- 19 Did the new gospel forbid lawful pleasures and enjoyments?
- 20 Did it in any way oppose progress of art and education?
- 21 Is the teaching of the gospel necessary for the perfect social state?
- 22 Can social work be substituted in the place of religious observances?
- 23 Can sociology supplant religion in giving principles for social work?
- 24 Do social surveys seek for new principles or new programs?
- 25 What will be the result if the social teachings of Christ are neglected?
- 26 Is there a tendency in our time to substitute social work for religion?
- 27 Are social workers justified in recommending divorce as a remedy for a social problem?
- 28 Are social workers ever justified in setting aside the social teachings of the New Testament?

PART VI
SELECTIONS FOR
COLLATERAL READING

CHAPTER I

LEO XIII ON THE CONDITION OF LABOR

It is not surprising that the spirit of revolutionary change, which has long been predominant in the nations of the world, should have passed beyond politics and made its influence felt in the cognate field of practical economy. The elements of a conflict are unmistakable: the growth of industry and the surprising discoveries of science, the changed relations of masters and workmen, the enormous fortunes of individuals and the poverty of the masses, the increased self-reliance and the closer mutual combination of the working population, and, finally, a general moral deterioration. The momentous seriousness of the present state of things just now fills every mind with painful apprehension, wise men discuss it, practical men propose schemes, popular meetings, legislatures, and sovereign princes, all are occupied with it — and there is nothing which has a deeper hold on public attention.

Therefore, Venerable Brethren, as on former occasions, when it seemed opportune to refute false teaching, We have addressed you in the interests of the Church and of the commonwealth, and have issued letters on political power, on human liberty, on the Christian constitution of the State, and on similar subjects, so now We have thought it useful to speak on the condition of labor.

1. The Condition of Labor. — It is a matter on which we have touched once or twice already. But in this letter the responsibility of the apostolic office urges Us to treat the question expressly and at length, in order that there may be no mistake as to the principles which truth and justice dictate for its settlement. The discussion is not easy, nor is it free from danger. It is not easy to define the relative rights and the mutual duties of the wealthy and of the poor, of capital and of labor. And the danger lies in this, that crafty agitators constantly make use of these disputes to pervert men's judgments and to stir up the people to sedition.

But all agree, and there can be no question whatever, that some

remedy must be found, and quickly found, for the misery and wretchedness which press so heavily at this moment on the large majority of the very poor. The ancient workmen's guilds were destroyed in the last century, and no other organization took their place. Public institutions and the laws have repudiated the ancient religion. Hence by degrees it has come to pass that workingmen have been given over, isolated and defenseless, to the callousness of employers and the greed of unrestrained competition. The evil has been increased by rapacious usury, which, although more than once condemned by the Church, is, nevertheless, under a different form but with the same guilt still practiced by avaricious and grasping men. And to this must be added the custom of working by contract, and the concentration of so many branches of trade in the hands of a few individuals, so that a small number of very rich men have been able to lay upon the masses of the poor a yoke little better than slavery itself.

2. Socialists and Private Property.—To remedy these evils the *Socialists*, working on the poor man's envy of the rich, endeavor to destroy private property, and maintain that individual possessions should become the common property of all, to be administered by the State or by municipal bodies. They hold that, by thus transferring property from private persons to the community, the present evil state of things will be set to rights, because each citizen will then have his equal share of whatever there is to enjoy. But their proposals are so clearly futile for all practical purposes that, if they were carried out, the workingman himself would be among the first to suffer. Moreover, they are emphatically unjust, because they would rob the lawful possessor, bring the State into a sphere that is not its own, and cause complete confusion in the community.

It is surely undeniable that, when a man engages in remunerative labor, the very reason and motive of his work is to obtain property, and to hold it as his own private possession. If one man hires out to another his strength or his industry, he does this for the purpose of receiving in return what is necessary for food and living, he thereby expressly proposes to acquire a full and real right not only to the remuneration but also to the disposal of that remuneration as he pleases. Thus, if he lives sparingly, saves money, and invests his savings, for greater security, in land, the land in such a case is only his wages in another form, and consequently a workingman's little estate thus purchased should be as completely at his own dis-

posal as the wages he receives for his labor. But it is precisely in this power of disposal that ownership consists, whether the property be land or movable goods. The Socialists, therefore, in endeavoring to transfer the possessions of individuals to the community, strike at the interests of every wage earner, for they deprive him of the liberty of disposing of his wages, and thus of all hope and possibility of increasing his stock and bettering his condition in life.

3. Man's Natural Right to Private Property. — What is of still greater importance, however, is that the remedy they propose is manifestly against justice. For every man has by nature the right to possess property as his own. This is one of the chief points of distinction between man and the animal creation. For the brute has no power of self-direction, but is governed by two chief instincts, which keep his powers alert, move him to use his strength, and determine him to action without the power of choice. These instincts are self-preservation and the propagation of the species. Both can attain their purpose by means of things which are close at hand, beyond their surroundings the brute creation cannot go, for they are moved to action by sensibility alone, and by the things which sense perceives. But with man it is different indeed. He possesses, on the one hand, the full perfection of animal nature, and therefore he enjoys, at least as much as the rest of the animal race, the fruition of the things of the body. But animality, however perfect, is far from being the whole of humanity, and is indeed humanity's humble handmaid, made to serve and obey. It is the mind, or the reason, which is the chief thing in us who are human beings, it is this which makes a human being human, and distinguishes him essentially and completely from the brute. And on this account — *viz.*, that man alone among animals possesses reason — it must be within his right to have things not merely for temporary and momentary use, as other living beings have them, but in stable and permanent possession, he must have not only things which perish in the using, but also those which, though used, remain for use in the future.

This becomes still more clearly evident if we consider man's nature a little more deeply. For man, comprehending by the power of his reason things innumerable, and joining the future with the present — being, moreover, the master of his own acts — governs himself by the foresight of his counsel, under the eternal law and the power of God, Whose Providence governs all things. Wherefore

it is in his power to exercise his choice not only on things which regard his present welfare but also on those which will be for his advantage in time to come. Hence man not only can possess the fruits of the earth but also the earth itself, for of the products of the earth he can make provision for the future. Man's needs do not die out, but recur, satisfied today, they demand new supplies tomorrow. Nature, therefore, owes to man a storehouse that shall never fail, the daily supply of his daily wants. And this he finds only in the inexhaustible fertility of the earth. Nor must we, at this stage, have recourse to the State.

4. Man is Older Than the State. — Man holds the right of providing for the life of his body prior to the formation of any State. And to say that God has given the earth to the use and enjoyment of the universal human race is not to deny that there can be private property. For God has granted the earth to mankind in general, not in the sense that all without distinction can deal with it as they please, but rather that no part of it has been assigned to any one in particular and that the limits of private possession have been left to be fixed by man's own industry and the laws of individual peoples. Moreover, the earth, though divided among private owners, ceases not thereby to minister to the needs of all, for there is no one who does not live on what the land brings forth. Those who do not possess the soil contribute their labor, so that it may be truly said that all human subsistence is derived either from labor on one's own land, or from some laborious industry which is paid either in the produce of the land itself or in that which is exchanged for what the land brings forth.

Here, again, we have another proof that private ownership is according to nature's law. For that which is required for the preservation of life and for life's well-being is produced in great abundance by the earth, but not until man has brought it into cultivation and lavished upon it his care and skill. Now when man thus spends the industry of his mind and the strength of his body in procuring the fruits of nature, by that act he makes his own that portion of nature's field which he cultivates — that portion on which he leaves, as it were, the impress of his own personality, and it cannot but be just that he should possess that portion as his own, and should have a right to keep it without molestation.

These arguments are so strong and convincing that it seems surprising that certain obsolete opinions should now be revived in

opposition to what is here laid down. We are told that it is right for private persons to have the use of the soil and the fruits of their land, but that it is unjust for any one to possess as owner either the land on which he has built or the estate which he has cultivated. But those who assert this do not perceive that they are robbing man of what his own labor has produced. For the soil which is tilled and cultivated with toil and skill utterly changes its condition, it was wild before, it is now fruitful, it was barren, and now it brings forth in abundance. That which has thus altered and improved it becomes so truly part of itself as to be in a great measure indistinguishable and inseparable from it. Is it just that the fruit of a man's sweat and labor should be enjoyed by another? As effects follow their cause, so it is just and right that the results of labor should belong to him who has labored.

With reason, therefore, the common opinion of mankind, little affected by the few dissentients who have maintained the opposite view, has found in the study of nature, and in the law of nature herself, the foundations of the division of property, and has consecrated by the practice of all ages the principle of private ownership, as being preeminently in conformity with human nature and as conducing in the most unmistakable manner to the peace and tranquillity of human life. The same principle is confirmed and enforced by the civil laws — laws which, so long as they are just, derive their binding force from the law of nature. The authority of the Divine Law adds its sanction, forbidding us in the gravest terms even to covet that which is another's — *Thou shalt not covet thy neighbor's wife, nor his house, nor his field, nor his manservant, nor his maid-servant, nor his ox, nor his ass, nor anything which is his*¹

5. Man's Natural Right and His Social and Domestic Duties.

— The rights here spoken of, belonging to each individual man, are seen in a much stronger light if they are considered in relation to man's social and domestic obligations.

In choosing a state of life, it is indisputable that all are at full liberty either to follow the counsel of Jesus Christ as to virginity or to enter into the bonds of marriage. No human law can abolish the natural and primitive right of marriage, or in any way limit the chief and principal purpose of marriage, ordained by God's authority from the beginning. *Increase and multiply*². Thus we have

¹ Deuteronomy v, 21

² Genesis 1, 28

the Family, the "society" of a man's own household, a society limited indeed in numbers, but a true "society," anterior to every kind of State or nation, with rights and duties of its own, totally independent of the commonwealth

That right of property, therefore, which has been proved to belong naturally to individual persons must also belong to a man in his capacity of head of a family; nay, such a person must possess this right so much the more clearly in proportion as his position multiplies his duties. For it is a most sacred law of nature that a father must provide food and all necessities for those whom he has begotten, and similarly, nature dictates that a man's children, who carry on, as it were, and continue his own personality, should be provided by him with all that is needful to enable them honorably to keep themselves from want and misery in the uncertainties of this mortal life. Now in no other way can a father effect this except by the ownership of profitable property, which he can transmit to his children by inheritance. A family, no less than a State, is, as we have said, a true society, governed by a power within itself, that is to say, by the father. Wherefore, provided the limits be not transgressed which are prescribed by the very purposes for which it exists, the Family has, at least, equal rights with the State in the choice and pursuit of those things which are needful to its preservation and its just liberty.

We say "at least equal" rights, for since the domestic household is anterior both in idea and in fact to the gathering of men into a commonwealth, the former must necessarily have rights and duties which are prior to those of the latter and which rest more immediately on nature. If the citizens of a State — that is to say, the families — on entering into association and fellowship, experienced at the hands of the State hindrance instead of help, and found their rights attacked instead of being protected, such association were rather to be repudiated than sought after.

6. The State May Not Abolish Nor Absorb Paternal Rights. — The idea, then, that the civil government should, at its own discretion, penetrate and pervade the family and the household is a great and pernicious mistake. True, if a family finds itself in great difficulty, utterly friendless and without prospect of help, it is right that extreme necessity be met by public aid, for each family is a part of the commonwealth. In like manner, if within the walls of the household there occur grave disturbance of mutual rights, the

public power must interfere to force each party to give the other what is due, for this is not to rob citizens of their rights but justly and properly to safeguard and strengthen them. But the rulers of the State must go no further, nature bids them stop here. Paternal authority can neither be abolished by the State nor absorbed, for it has the same source as human life itself. "The child belongs to the father," and is, as it were, the continuation of the father's personality, and, to speak with strictness, the child takes its place in civil society not in its own right but in its quality as a member of the family in which it is begotten. And it is for the very reason that "the child belongs to the father," that, as St. Thomas of Aquin says, "before it attains the use of free will, it is in the power and care of its parents"¹

The Socialists, therefore, in setting aside the parent and introducing the providence of the State, act *against natural justice* and threaten the very existence of family life.

And such interference is not only unjust but is quite certain to harass and disturb all classes of citizens, and to subject them to odious and intolerable slavery. It would open the door to envy, to evil speaking, and to quarreling, the sources of wealth would themselves run dry, for no one would have any interest in exerting his talents or his industry, and that ideal equality of which so much is said would, in reality, be the leveling down of all to the same condition of misery and dishonor.

Thus it is clear that the main tenet of Socialism, the community of goods, must be utterly rejected, for it would injure those whom it is intended to benefit, it would be contrary to the natural rights of mankind, and it would introduce confusion and disorder into the commonwealth. Our first and most fundamental principle, therefore, when we undertake to alleviate the condition of the masses, must be the inviolability of private property. This laid down, We go on to show where we must find the remedy that we seek.

7. The Church Alone Can Solve the Social Problem.—We approach the subject with confidence, and in the exercise of the rights which belong to Us. For no practical solution of this question will ever be found without the assistance of religion and the Church. It is We who are the chief guardian of religion and the chief dispenser of what belongs to the Church, and We must not by silence neglect the duty which lies upon Us. Doubtless this most serious

¹ St. Thomas, *Summa Theologica*, 2a 2æ Q. x Art. 12

question demands the attention and the efforts of others besides Ourselves — of the rulers of States, of employers of labor, of the wealthy, and of the working population themselves for whom We plead. But We affirm without hesitation that all the striving of men will be vain if they leave out the Church. It is the Church that proclaims from the gospel those teachings by which the conflict can be put an end to, or at least made far less bitter, the Church uses its efforts not only to enlighten the mind but to direct by its precepts the life and conduct of men. The Church improves and ameliorates the condition of the workingman by numerous useful organizations, does its best to enlist the services of all ranks in discussing and endeavoring to meet, in the most practical way, the claims of the working classes, and acts on the decided view that for these purposes recourse should be had, in due measure and degree, to the help of the law and of State authority.

Let it be laid down, in the first place, that humanity must remain as it is. It is impossible to reduce human society to a level. The Socialists may do their utmost, but all striving against nature is vain. There naturally exist among mankind innumerable differences of the most important kind, people differ in capability, in diligence, in health, and in strength, and unequal fortune is a necessary result of inequality in condition. Such inequality is far from being disadvantageous either to individuals or to the community, social and public life can only go on by the help of various kinds of capacity and the playing of many parts, and each man, as a rule, chooses the part which peculiarly suits his case. As regards bodily labor, even had man never fallen from *the state of innocence*, he would not have been wholly unoccupied, but that which would then have been his free choice, his delight, became afterward compulsory, and the painful expiation of his sin. *Cursed be the earth in thy work, in thy labor thou shalt eat of it all the days of thy life*¹. In like manner, the other pains and hardships of life will have no end or cessation on this earth, for the consequences of sin are bitter and hard to bear, and they must be with man as long as life lasts. To suffer and to endure, therefore, is the lot of humanity, let men try as they may, no strength and no artifice will ever succeed in banishing from human life the ills and troubles which beset it. If any there are who pretend differently — who hold out to a hard-pressed people freedom from pain and trouble, undisturbed repose, and

¹ Genesis iii, 17

constant enjoyment—they cheat the people and impose upon them, and their lying promises will only make the evil worse than before. There is nothing more useful than to look at the world as it really is and at the same time look elsewhere for a remedy to its troubles.

8. The Christian Interdependence of Capital and Labor.—

The great mistake that is made in the matter now under consideration is to possess oneself of the idea that class is naturally hostile to class, that rich and poor are intended by nature to live at war with one another. So irrational and so false is this view that the exact contrary is the truth. Just as the symmetry of the human body is the result of the disposition of the members of the body, so in a State it is ordained by nature that these two classes should exist in harmony and agreement and should, as it were, fit into one another, so as to maintain the equilibrium of the body politic. Each requires the other, capital cannot do without labor, nor labor without capital. Mutual agreement results in pleasantness and good order, perpetual conflict necessarily produces confusion and outrage. Now in preventing such strife as this, and in making it impossible, the efficacy of Christianity is marvelous and manifold. First of all, there is nothing more powerful than religion (of which the Church is the interpreter and guardian) in drawing rich and poor together, by reminding each class of its duties to the other, and especially of the duties of justice. Thus religion teaches the laboring man and the workman to carry out honestly and well all equitable agreements freely made, never to injure capital nor to outrage the person of an employer, never to employ violence in representing his own cause, nor to engage in riot and disorder, and to have nothing to do with men of evil principles, who work upon the people with artful promises and raise foolish hopes which usually end in disaster and in repentance when too late. Religion teaches the rich man and the employer that their work people are not their slaves, that they must respect in every man his dignity as a man and as a Christian, that labor is nothing to be ashamed of, if we listen to right reason and to Christian philosophy, but is an honorable employment, enabling a man to sustain his life in an upright and creditable way, and that it is shameful and inhuman to treat men like chattels to make money by, or to look upon them merely as so much muscle or physical power. Thus, again, religion teaches that, as among the workman's concerns are religion herself and things spiritual and mental,

the employer is bound to see that he has time for the duties of piety; that he be not exposed to corrupting influences and dangerous occasions and that he be not led away to neglect his home and family or to squander his wages. Then, again, the employer must never tax his work people beyond their strength, nor employ them in work unsuited to their sex or age. His great and principal obligation is to give to every one that which is just. Doubtless before we can decide whether wages are adequate, many things have to be considered, but rich men and masters should remember this — that to exercise pressure for the sake of gain, upon the indigent and destitute, and to make one's profit out of the need of another is condemned by all laws, human and divine. To defraud any one of wages that are his due is a crime which cries to the avenging anger of Heaven. *Behold, the hire of the laborers which by fraud has been kept back by you, crieth, and the cry of them hath entered the ears of the Lord of Sabaoth*¹. Finally, the rich must religiously refrain from cutting down the workman's earnings, either by force, fraud, or by usurious dealing, and with the more reason because the poor man is weak and unprotected and because his slender means should be sacred in proportion to their scantiness. Were these precepts carefully obeyed and followed, would not strife die out and cease?

But the Church, with Jesus Christ for its Master and Guide, aims higher still. It lays down precepts yet more perfect, and tries to bind class to class in friendliness and good understanding. The things of this earth cannot be understood or valued rightly without taking into consideration the life to come, the life that will last forever. Exclude the idea of futurity, and the very notion of what is good and right would perish, nay, the whole system of the universe would become a dark and unfathomable mystery. The great truth which we learn from nature herself is also the grand Christian dogma on which religion rests as on its base — that when we have done with this present life, then we shall really begin to live. God has not created us for the perishable and transitory things of earth, but for things heavenly and everlasting, He has given us this world as a place of exile and not as our true country. Money and the other things which men call good and desirable — we may have them in abundance or we may want them altogether, so far as eternal happiness is concerned, it is no matter, the only thing that

¹ St. James v, 4

is important is to use them aright. Jesus Christ, when he redeemed us with *plentiful redemption*, took not away the pains and sorrows which in such large proportion make up the texture of our mortal life, He transformed them into motives of virtue and occasions of merit, and no man can hope for eternal reward unless he follow in the blood-stained footprints of his Saviour. *If we suffer with Him, we shall also reign with Him*.¹ His labors and His sufferings, accepted by His own free will, have marvelously sweetened all suffering and all labor. And not only by His example, but by His grace and by the hope of everlasting recompense, He has made pain and grief more easy to endure, *for that which is at present momentary and light of our tribulation, worketh for us above measure exceedingly an eternal weight of glory*.²

9. Christianity Teaches Practically the Right Use of Money. —

Therefore, those whom fortune favors are warned that freedom from sorrow and abundance of earthly riches are no guarantee of that beatitude that shall never end, but rather the contrary,³ that the rich should tremble at the threatenings of Jesus Christ — threatenings so strange in the mouth of our Lord,⁴ and that a most strict account must be given to the Supreme Judge for all that we possess. The chiefest and most excellent rule for the right use of money is one which the heathen philosophers indicated, but which the Church has traced out clearly and has not only made known to men's minds but has impressed upon their lives. It rests on the principle that it is one thing to have a right to the possession of money and another to have a right to use money as one pleases. Private ownership, as we have seen, is the natural right of man, and to exercise that right, especially as members of society, is not only lawful but absolutely necessary. *It is lawful*, says St. Thomas of Aquin, *for a man to hold private property, and it is also necessary for the carrying on of human life*.⁵ But if the question be asked, How must one's possessions be used? the Church replies without hesitation in the words of the same holy doctor. *Man should not consider his outward possessions as his own, but as common to all, so as to share them without difficulty when others are in need. Whence the Apostle saith, Command the rich of this world to give with ease, to communicate*.⁶ True, no one is commanded to distribute to others that

¹ II Timothy ii, 12

² II Corinthians iv, 17

³ St. Matthew xix, 23-24

⁴ St. Luke vi, 24-25

⁵ 2a 2æ Q. lxvi Art. 2

⁶ *Ibid.*, Q. lxxv Art. 2

which is required for his own necessities and those of his household, nor even to give away what is reasonably required to keep up becomingly his condition in life, *for no one ought to live unbecomingly*¹ But when necessity has been supplied and one's position fairly considered, it is a duty to give to the indigent out of that which is over *Of that which remaineth give alms.*² It is a duty not of justice (except in extreme cases) but of Christian charity — a duty which is not enforced by human law But the laws and judgment of men must give place to the laws and judgment of Christ, the true God, Who in many ways urges on His followers the practice of almsgiving — *it is more blessed to give than to receive,*³ — and Who will count a kindness done or refused to the poor as done or refused to Himself — *as long as you did it to one of My least brethren, you did it to Me*⁴ Thus to sum up what has been said Whoever has received from the divine bounty a large share of blessings, whether they be external and corporal or gifts of the mind, has received them for the purpose of using them for perfecting his own nature and, at the same time, that he may employ them as the minister of God's Providence for the benefit of others *He that hath a talent, says St Gregory the Great, let him see that he hideth not, he that hath abundance, let him arouse himself to mercy and generosity; he that hath art and skill, let him do his best to share the use and utility thereof with his neighbor*⁵

10. The Dignity of Labor. — As for those who do not possess the gifts of fortune, they are taught by the Church that, in God's sight poverty is no disgrace, and that there is nothing to be ashamed of in seeking one's bread by labor This is strengthened by what we see in Christ Himself, Who *whereas He was rich, for our sakes became poor*⁶ and Who, being the Son of God and God Himself, chose to seem and to be considered the son of a carpenter — nay, did not disdain to spend a great part of His life as a carpenter Himself *Is not this the carpenter, the son of Mary?*⁷ From the contemplation of this divine example, it is easy to understand that the

¹ 2a 2æ Q xxxii Art 6

² St Luke xi, 41

³ Acts xx, 35

⁴ St Matthew xxv, 40

⁵ St Gregory the Great, *Hom ix in Evangel*, n 7

⁶ II Corinthians viii, 9

⁷ St Mark vi, 3

true dignity and excellence of man lies in his moral qualities, that is, in virtue, that virtue is the common inheritance of all, equally within the reach of high and low, rich and poor, and that virtue, and virtue alone, wherever found, will be followed by the rewards of everlasting happiness. Nay, God Himself seems to incline more to those who suffer evil, for Jesus Christ calls the poor blessed¹. He lovingly invites those in labor and grief to come to Him for solace,² and He displays the tenderest charity to the lowly and oppressed. These reflections cannot fail to keep down the pride of those who are well off and to cheer the spirit of the afflicted, to incline the former to generosity and the latter to tranquil resignation. Thus the separation which pride would make tends to disappear, nor will it be difficult to make rich and poor join hands in friendly concord.

But if Christian precepts prevail, the two classes will not only be united in the bonds of friendship but also those of brotherly love. For they will understand and feel that all men are the children of the common Father, that is, of God, that all have the same end, which is God Himself, Who alone can make either men or angels absolutely and perfectly happy, that all and each are redeemed by Jesus Christ and raised to the dignity of children of God, and are thus united in brotherly ties both with each other and with Jesus Christ, *the first born among many brethren*, that the blessings of nature and the gifts of grace belong in common to the whole human race and that to all, except to those who are unworthy, is promised the inheritance of the Kingdom of Heaven. *If sons, heirs also, heirs indeed of God, and co-heirs of Christ*.³

Such is the scheme of duties and of rights which is put forth to the world by the gospel. Would it not seem that strife must quickly cease were society penetrated with ideas like these?

11. Social Evils to be Remedied Only by Return to Christian Life and Institutions. — But the Church, not content with pointing out the remedy, also applies it. For the Church does its utmost to teach and to train men and to educate them, and by means of its bishops and clergy it diffuses its salutary teachings far and wide. It strives to influence the mind and heart so that all may willingly yield themselves to be formed and guided by the commandments of

¹ St. Matthew v, 3 "Blessed are the poor in spirit"

² *Ibid* xi, 28 "Come to Me all you that labor and are burdened, and I will refresh you"

³ Romans viii, 17

God It is precisely in this fundamental and principal matter, on which everything depends, that the Church has a power peculiar to itself The agencies which it employs are given it for the very purpose of reaching the hearts of men by Jesus Christ Himself, and derive their efficiency from God They alone can touch the innermost heart and conscience, and bring men to act, from a motive of duty, to resist their passions and appetites, to love God and their fellow men with love that is unique and supreme, and courageously to break down every barrier which stands in the way of a virtuous life

On this subject We need only recall for one moment the examples written down in history Of these things there cannot be the shadow of doubt, for instance, that civil society was renovated in every part by the teachings of Christianity, that in the strength of that renewal the human race was lifted up to better things — nay, that it was brought back from death to life, and to so excellent a life that nothing more perfect had been known before or will come to pass in the ages that are yet to be Of this beneficent transformation, Jesus Christ was at once the first cause and the final purpose, as from Him all came, so to Him all was to be referred For when, by the light of the Gospel message, the human race came to know the grand mystery of the Incarnation of the Word and the redemption of man, the life of Jesus Christ, God and Man, penetrated every race and nation and impregnated them with His faith, His precepts, and His laws And, if society is to be cured now, in no other way can it be cured but by a return to the Christian life and Christian institutions When a society is perishing, the true advice to give to those who would restore it is to recall it to the principles from which it sprung, for the purpose and perfection of an association is to aim at and to attain that for which it was formed, and its operation should be put in motion and inspired by the end and object which originally gave it its being So that to fall away from its primal constitution is disease, to go back to it is recovery And this may be asserted with the utmost truth both of the State in general and of that body of its citizens — by far the greatest number — who sustain life by labor

12. The Church Seeks the Material Welfare of the Poor. —

Neither must it be supposed that the solicitude of the Church is so occupied with the spiritual concerns of its children as to neglect their interests temporal and earthly. Its desire is that the poor, for

example, should rise above poverty and wretchedness, and should better their condition in life, and for this it strives. By the very fact that it calls men to virtue and forms them to its practice, it promotes this in no slight degree. Christian morality, when it is adequately and completely practiced, conduces of itself to temporal prosperity, for it merits the blessing of that God who is the source of all blessings, it powerfully restrains the lust of possession and the lust of pleasure — twin plagues, which too often make a man without self-restraint miserable in the midst of abundance,¹ it makes men supply by economy for the want of means, teaching them to be content with frugal living and keeping them out of the reach of those vices which eat up not only merely small incomes but large fortunes, and dissipate many a goodly inheritance.

Moreover, the Church intervenes directly in the interest of the poor, by setting on foot and keeping up many things which it sees to be efficacious in the relief of poverty. Here, again, it has always succeeded so well that it has even extorted the praise of its enemies. Such was the ardor of brotherly love among the earliest Christians that numbers of those who were better off deprived themselves of their possessions in order to relieve their brethren, whence *neither was there any one needy among them*². To the order of deacons, instituted for that very purpose, was committed by the Apostles the charge of the daily distributions, and the Apostle Paul, though burdened with the solicitude of all the churches, hesitated not to undertake laborious journeys in order to carry the alms of the faithful to the poorer Christians. Tertullian calls these contributions, given voluntarily by Christians in their assemblies, *deposits of piety*, because, to cite his words, they were employed *in feeding the needy, in burying them, in the support of boys and girls destitute of means and deprived of their parents, in the care of the aged, and in the relief of the shipwrecked*³.

Thus by degrees came into existence the patrimony which the Church has guarded with jealous care as the inheritance of the poor. Nay, to spare them the shame of begging, the common mother of the rich and poor has exerted herself to gather together funds for the support of the needy. The Church has stirred up everywhere the heroism of charity and has established congregations of religious

¹ I Timothy vi, 10

² Acts iv, 34

³ *Apologia Secunda*, xxxix

and many other useful institutions for help and mercy, so that there might be hardly any kind of suffering which was not visited and relieved. At the present day there are many who, like the heathen of old, blame and condemn the Church for this beautiful charity. They would substitute in its place a system of State-organized relief. But no human methods will ever supply for the devotion and self-sacrifice of Christian charity. Charity, as a virtue, belongs to the Church, for it is no virtue unless it is drawn from the Sacred Heart of Jesus Christ, and he who turns his back on the Church cannot be near to Christ.

13. The State's Share in the Relief of Poverty.—It cannot, however, be doubted that to attain the purpose of which We treat, not only the Church but all human means must conspire. All who are concerned in the matter must be of one mind and must act together. It is in this, as in the Providence which governs the world, results do not happen save where all the causes cooperate.

Let us now therefore inquire what part the State should play in the work of remedy and relief.

By the State We here understand not the particular form of government which prevails in this or that nation but the State as rightly understood, that is to say, any government conformable in its institutions to right reason and natural law, and to those dictates of the divine wisdom which We have expounded in the *Encyclical on the Christian Constitution of the State*. The first duty, therefore, of the rulers of the State should be to make sure that the laws and institutions, the general character and administration of the commonwealth, shall be such as to produce of themselves public well-being and private prosperity. This is the proper office of wise statesmanship and the work of the heads of the State. Now a State chiefly prospers and flourishes by morality, well-regulated family life, by respect for religion and justice, by the moderation and equal distribution of public burdens, by the progress of the arts and of trade, by the abundant yield of the land—by everything which makes the citizens better and happier. Here, then, it is in the power of a ruler to benefit every order of the State, and amongst the rest to promote in the highest degree the interests of the poor, and this by virtue of his office, and without being exposed to any suspicion of undue interference, for it is the province of the commonwealth to consult for the common good. And the more that is done for the working population by the general laws of the country,

the less need will there be to seek for particular means to relieve them. There is another and a deeper consideration which must not be lost sight of.

14. To the State the Interests of All are Equal. — The poor are members of the national community equally with the rich, they are real component parts, living parts, which make up, through the family, the living body, and it need hardly be said that they are by far the majority. It would be irrational to neglect one portion of the citizens and to favor another, and therefore the public administration must duly and solicitously provide for the welfare and the comfort of the working people, or else that law of justice will be violated which ordains that each shall have his due. To cite the wise words of St. Thomas of Aquin: *As the part and the whole are in a certain sense identical, the part may in some sense claim what belongs to the whole*¹. Among the many and grave duties of rulers who would do their best for their people, the first and chief is to act with strict justice — with that justice which is called in the schools *distributive* — toward each and every class.

But although all citizens without exception can and ought to contribute to that common good in which individuals share so profitably to themselves, yet it is not to be supposed that all can contribute in the same way and to the same extent. No matter what changes may be made in forms of government, there will always be differences and inequalities of condition in the State, society cannot exist or be conceived without them. Some there must be who dedicate themselves to the work of the commonwealth, who make the laws, who administer justice, whose advice and authority govern the nation in times of peace and defend it in war. Such men clearly occupy the foremost place in the State and should be held in the foremost estimation, for their work touches most nearly and effectively the general interests of the community. Those who labor at a trade or calling do not promote the general welfare in such a fashion as this, but they do in the most important way benefit the nation, though less directly. We have insisted that, since it is the end of society to make men better, the chief good that society can be possessed of is virtue. Nevertheless, in all well-constituted States it is a by no means unimportant matter to provide those bodily and external commodities, *the use of which is*

¹ 2a 2æ Q. lxi Art. 1 and 2

*necessary to virtuous action*¹ And in the provision of material well-being, the labor of the poor — the exercise of their skill and the employment of their strength in the culture of the land and the work-shops of trade — is most efficacious and altogether indispensable. Indeed, their cooperation in this respect is so important that it may be truly said that it is only by the labor of the working man that the States grow rich.

Justice, therefore, demands that the interests of the poorer population be carefully watched over by the administration, so that they who contribute so largely to the advantage of the community may themselves share in the benefits they create — that being housed, clothed, and enabled to support life, they may find their existence less hard and more endurable. It follows that whatever shall appear to be conducive to the well-being of those who work should receive favorable consideration. Let it not be feared that solicitude of this kind will injure any interest, on the contrary, it will be to the advantage of all, for it cannot but be good for the commonwealth to secure from misery those on whom it so largely depends.

15. The Christian Idea of a State. — We have said that the State must not absorb the individual or the family, both should be allowed free and untrammelled action so far as is consistent with the common good and the interests of others. Nevertheless, rulers should anxiously safeguard the community and all its parts, the community, because the conservation of the community is so emphatically the business of the supreme power, that the safety of the commonwealth is not only the first law, but is a Government's whole reason of existence, and the parts, because both philosophy and the gospel agree in laying down that the object of the administration of the State should be not the advantage of the ruler but the benefit of those over whom he rules. The gift of authority is from God and is, as it were, a participation of the highest of all sovereignties, and it should be exercised as the power of God is exercised — with a fatherly solicitude which not only guides the whole but reaches to details as well.

Whenever the general interest of any particular class suffers, or is threatened with evils which can in no other way be met, the public authority must step in to meet them. Now, among the interests of the public, as of private individuals, are these — that peace and

¹ St. Thomas of Aquin, *De Regimine Principum*, I, cap. 15.

good order should be maintained, that family life should be carried on in accordance with God's laws and those of nature, that religion should be revered and obeyed, that a high standard of morality should prevail in public and private life, that the sanctity of justice should be respected, and that no one should injure another with impunity, that the members of the commonwealth should grow up to man's estate strong and robust, and capable, if need be, of guarding and defending their country. If by a strike, or other combination of workmen, there should be imminent danger of disturbance to the public peace, or if circumstances were such that among the laboring population the ties of family life were relaxed, if Religion were found to suffer through the workmen not having time and opportunity to practice it, if in workshops and factories there were danger to morals through the mixing of the sexes or from any occasion of evil, or if employers laid burdens upon the workmen which were unjust, or degraded them with conditions that were repugnant to their dignity as human beings, finally, if health were endangered by excessive labor, or by work unsuited to sex or age — in these cases there can be no question that, within certain limits, it would be right to call in the help and authority of the law. The limits must be determined by the nature of the occasion which calls for the law's interference — the principle being this that the law must not undertake more nor go further than is required for the remedy of the evil or the removal of the danger.

Rights must be religiously respected wherever they are found; and it is the duty of the public authority to prevent and punish injury and to protect each one in the possession of his own. Still, when there is question of protecting the rights of individuals, the poor and helpless have a claim to special consideration. The richer population have many ways of protecting themselves and stand less in need of help from the State, those who are badly off have no resources of their own to fall back upon and must chiefly rely upon the assistance of the State. And it is for this reason that wage earners, who are, undoubtedly, among the weak and necessitous, should be specially cared for and protected by the commonwealth.

Here, however, it will be advisable to advert expressly to one or two of the more important details.

16. The State Should Safeguard Private Property. — It must be borne in mind that the chief thing to be secured is the safeguarding by legal enactment and policy of private property. Most

of all it is essential in these times of covetous greed to keep the multitude within the line of duty, for if all may justly strive to better their condition, yet neither justice nor the common good allows any one to seize that which belongs to another, or under the pretext of futile and ridiculous equality to lay hands on other people's fortunes. It is most true that by far the larger part of the people who work prefer to improve themselves by honest labor rather than by doing wrong to others. But there are not a few who are imbued with bad principles and are anxious for revolutionary change and whose great purpose it is to stir up tumult and bring about a policy of violence. The authority of the State should intervene to put restraint upon these disturbers, to save the workmen from their seditious arts, and to protect lawful owners from spoliation.

17. The State Must Protect the Laborers' Rights. — When work people have recourse to a strike, it is frequently because the hours of labor are too long or the work too hard, or because they consider their wages insufficient. The grave inconvenience of this not uncommon occurrence should be obviated by public remedial measures, for such paralysis of labor not only affects the masters and their work people but is extremely injurious to trade and to the general interests of the public, moreover, on such occasions violence and disorder are generally not far off, and thus it frequently happens that the public peace is threatened. The laws should be beforehand and prevent these troubles from arising, they should lend their influence and authority to the removal in good time of the causes which lead to conflicts between masters and those whom they employ.

But if the owners of property must be made secure, the workman, too, has property and possessions in which he must be protected, and, first of all, there are his spiritual and mental interests. Life on earth, however good and desirable in itself, is not the final purpose for which man is created, it is only the way and the means to that attainment of truth and that practice of goodness in which the full life of the soul consists. It is the soul which is made after the image and likeness of God, it is in the soul that sovereignty resides, in virtue of which man is commanded to rule the creatures below him and to use all the earth and ocean for his profit and advantage. *Fill the earth and subdue it, and rule over the fishes of the sea and the fowls of the air, and all living creatures which*

*move upon the earth*¹ In this respect all men are equal, there is no difference between rich and poor, master and servant, ruler and ruled, *for the same is Lord over all*² No man may outrage with impunity that human dignity which God Himself treats *with reverence*, nor stand in the way of that higher life which is the preparation for the eternal life of Heaven Nay, more, a man has here no power over himself To consent to any treatment which is calculated to defeat the end and purpose of his being is beyond his right, he cannot give up his soul to servitude; for it is not man's own rights which are here in question, but the rights of God, most sacred and inviolable

From this follows the obligation of the cessation of work and labor on Sundays and certain festivals This rest from labor is not to be understood as mere idleness, much less must it be an occasion of spending money and a vicious excess, as many would desire it to be, but it should be rest from labor consecrated by religion Repose united with religious observance disposes man to forget for a while the business of this daily life and to turn his thoughts to heavenly things and to the worship which he so strictly owes to the Eternal Deity It is this, above all, which is the reason and motive for the Sunday rest, a rest sanctioned by God's great law of the ancient covenant, *Remember thou keep holy the Sabbath day*,³ and taught to the world by His own mysterious "rest" after the creation of man, *He rested on the seventh day from all His work which He had done*⁴

If we turn now to things exterior and corporal, the first concern of all is to save the poor workers from the cruelty of grasping speculators who use human beings as mere instruments for making money It is neither justice nor humanity so to grind men down with excessive labor as to stupefy their minds and wear out their bodies Man's powers, like his general nature, are limited, and beyond these limits he cannot go His strength is developed and increased by use and exercise, but only on condition of due intermission and proper rest Daily labor, therefore, must be so regulated that it may not be protracted during longer hours than strength admits How many and how long the intervals of rest should be will depend upon the nature of the work, on circumstances of time and place, and on the health and strength of the workman Those who labor in mines

¹ Genesis 1, 28

² Romans x, 12

³ Exodus xx, 8

⁴ Genesis ii, 2, 9

and quarries and in work within the bowels of the earth should have shorter hours in proportion, as their labor is more severe and more trying to health. Then again the season of the year must be taken into account, for not infrequently a kind of labor is easy at one time which at another is intolerable or very difficult. Finally, work which is suitable for a strong man cannot reasonably be required from a woman or a child.

And in regard to children, great care should be taken not to place them in workshops and factories until their bodies and minds are sufficiently mature. For just as rough weather destroys the buds of spring, so too early an experience of life's hard work blights the young promise of a child's powers and makes any real education impossible. Women, again, are not suited to certain trades, for a woman is by nature fitted for home work, and it is that which is best adapted at once to preserve her modesty and to promote the good bringing up of children and the well-being of the family. As a general principle, it may be laid down that a workman ought to have leisure and rest in proportion to the wear and tear of his strength, for the waste of strength must be repaired by the cessation of work.

In all agreements between masters and work people, there is always the condition, expressed or understood that there be allowed proper rest for soul and body. To agree in any other sense would be against what is right and just, for it can never be right or just to require on the one side, or to promise on the other, the giving up of those duties which a man owes to his God and to himself.

18. Employers' Moral Obligation to Pay Fair Wages.—We now approach a subject of very great importance and one on which, if extremes are to be avoided, right ideas are absolutely necessary. Wages, we are told, are fixed by free consent, and therefore the employer when he pays what was agreed upon has done his part and is not called upon for anything further. The only way, it is said, in which injustice could happen would be if the master refused to pay the whole of the wages, or if the workman would not complete the work undertaken. When this happens, the State should intervene to see that each obtains his own, but not under any other circumstances.

This mode of reasoning is by no means convincing to a fair-minded man, for there are important considerations which it leaves out of view altogether. To labor is to exert one's self for the sake

of procuring what is necessary for the purposes of life and most of all for self-preservation *In the sweat of thy brow thou shalt eat bread*¹ Therefore, a man's labor has two notes or characters First of all, it is *personal*, for the exertion of individual power belongs to the individual who puts it forth, employing this power for that personal profit for which it was given Secondly, man's labor is *necessary*, for without the results of labor a man cannot live; and self-conservation is a law of nature which it is wrong to disobey Now if we were to consider labor merely so far as it is *personal*, doubtless it would be within the workman's right to accept any rate of wages whatever, for in the same way as he is free to work or not, so he is free to accept a small remuneration or even none at all But this is a mere abstract supposition, the labor of the workingman is not only his personal attribute but it is *necessary*, and this makes all the difference The preservation of life is the bounden duty of each and all, and to fail therein is a crime It follows that each one has a right to procure what is required in order to live, and the poor can procure it in no other way than by work and wages

Let it be granted, then, that, as a rule, workman and employer should make free agreements and in particular should freely agree as to wages, nevertheless, there is a dictate of nature more imperious and more ancient than any bargain between man and man, that the remuneration must be enough to support the wage earner in reasonable and frugal comfort If through necessity or fear of a worse evil, the workman accepts harder conditions because an employer or contractor will give him no better, he is the victim of force and injustice In these and similar questions, however—such as, for example, the hours of labor in different trades, the sanitary precautions to be observed in factories and workshops, etc—in order to supersede undue interference on the part of the State, especially as circumstances, times, and localities differ so widely, it is advisable that recourse be had to societies or boards such as We shall mention presently, or to some other method of safeguarding the interests of wage earners, the State to be asked for approval and protection

19. The State Should Favor Multiplication of Property Owners.

—If a workman's wages be sufficient to enable him to maintain himself, his wife, and his children in reasonable comfort, he will

¹ Genesis iii, 1

not find it difficult, if he is a sensible man, to study economy, and he will not fail by cutting down expenses to put by a little property. Nature and reason would urge him to do this. We have seen that this great labor question cannot be solved except by assuming as a principle that private ownership must be held sacred and inviolable. The law, therefore, should favor ownership, and its policy should be to induce as many people as possible to become owners.

Many excellent results will follow from this, and first of all, property will certainly become more equitably divided. For the effect of civil change and revolution has been to divide society into two widely different castes. On the one side there is the party which holds the power, because it holds the wealth, which has in its grasp all labor and all trade, which manipulates for its own benefit and its own purposes all the sources of supply, and which is powerfully represented in the councils of the State itself. On the other side, there is the needy and powerless multitude, sore and suffering, always ready for disturbance. If working people can be encouraged to look forward to obtaining a share in the land, the result will be that the gulf between vast wealth and deep poverty will be bridged over, and the two orders will be brought nearer together. Another consequence will be the greater abundance of the fruits of the earth. Men always work harder and more readily when they work on that which is their own; nay, they learn to love the very soil which yields in response to the labor of their hands, not only food to eat, but an abundance of the good things for themselves and those that are dear to them. It is evident how such a spirit of willing labor would add to the produce of the earth and to the wealth of the community. And a third advantage would arise from this. Men would cling to the country in which they were born, for no one would exchange his country for a foreign land if his own afforded him the means of living a tolerable and happy life. These three important benefits, however, can only be expected on the condition that a man's means be not drained and exhausted by excessive taxation. The right to possess private property is from nature, not from man, and the State has only the right to regulate its use in the interests of the public good, but by no means to abolish it altogether. The State is therefore unjust and cruel if, in the name of taxation, it deprives the private owner of more than is just.

20. Multiply Workingmen's Associations. — In the first place — employers and workmen may themselves effect much in the mat-

ter of which We treat, by means of those institutions and organizations which afford opportune assistance to those in need and which draw the two orders more closely together. Among these may be enumerated societies for mutual help, various foundations established by private persons for providing for the workman and for his widow or his orphans in sudden calamity, in sickness, and in the event of death, and what are called "patronages," or institutions for the care of boys and girls, for young people, and also for those of more mature age.

The most important of all are workmen's associations, for these virtually include all the rest. History attests what excellent results were effected by the artificers' guilds of a former day. They were the means not only of many advantages to the workmen but in no small degree of the advancement of art, as numerous monuments remain to prove. Such associations should be adapted to the requirements of the age in which we live — an age of greater instruction, of different customs, and of more numerous requirements in daily life. It is gratifying to know that there are actually in existence not a few societies of this nature, consisting either of workmen alone or of workmen and employers together, but it were greatly to be desired that they should multiply and become more effective. We have spoken of them more than once, but it will be well to explain here how much they are needed, to show that they exist by their own right, and to enter into their organization and their work.

The experience of his own weakness urges man to call in help from without. We read in the pages of Holy Writ: *It is better that two should be together than one, for they have the advantage of their society. If one fall he shall be supported by the other. Woe to him that is alone, for when he falleth he hath none to lift him up*¹. And further: *A brother that is helped by his brother is like a strong city*². It is this natural impulse which unites men in civil society, and it is this also which makes them band themselves together in associations of citizen with citizen — associations which, it is true, cannot be called societies in the complete sense of the word, but which are societies nevertheless.

These lesser societies and the society which constitutes the State differ in many things, because their immediate purpose and end is different. Civil society exists for the common good and therefore is concerned with the interests of all in general, and with the indi-

¹ Ecclesiastes iv, 9-10

² Proverbs xviii, 19

vidual interests in their due place and proportion. Hence, it is called "public" society, because by its means, as St. Thomas of Aquin says, *Men communicate with one another in the setting up of a commonwealth*¹. But the societies which are formed in the bosom of the State are called "private," and justly so, because their immediate purpose is the private advantage of the associates. Now, a *private society*, says St. Thomas again, is one which is formed for the purpose of carrying out private business, as when two or three enter into partnership with the view of trading in conjunction². Particular societies, then, although they exist within the State and are each a part of the State, nevertheless cannot be prohibited by the State absolutely and as such. For to enter into "society" of this kind is the natural right of man, and the State must protect natural rights, not destroy them, and if it forbids its citizens to form associations, it contradicts the very principle of its own existence, for both they and it exist in virtue of the same principle, *viz*, the natural propensity of man to live in society.

There are times, no doubt, when it is right that the law should interfere to prevent association, as when men join together for purposes which are evidently bad, unjust, or dangerous to the State. In such cases the public authority may justly forbid the formation of associations and may dissolve them when they already exist. But every precaution should be taken not to violate the rights of individuals and not to make unreasonable regulations under the pretense of public benefit. For laws only bind when they are in accordance with right reason, and therefore with the eternal law of God³.

21. The Advantages of Lawful Combination. — And here we are reminded of the confraternities, societies, and religious orders which have arisen by the Church's authority and the piety of the Christian people. The annals of every nation down to our own times testify to what they have done for the human race. It is indisputable on grounds of reason alone that such associations, being perfectly

¹ *Contra impugnantes Dei cultum et religionem*, Cap. II.

² *Ibid*.

³ "Human law is law only in virtue of its accordance with right reason and thus it is manifest that it flows from the eternal law. And in so far as it deviates from right reason it is called an unjust law, in such case it is not law at all, but rather a species of violence" — St. Thomas of Aquin, *Summa Theologica*, 1a 2æ Q. xciii Art. iii.

blameless in their objects, have the sanction of the law of nature. On their religious side, they rightly claim to be responsible to the Church alone. The administrators of the State, therefore, have no rights over them, nor can they claim any share in their management, on the contrary, it is the State's duty to respect and cherish them, and, if necessary, to defend them from attack. It is notorious that a very different course has been followed, more especially in our own times. In many places the State has laid violent hands on these communities and committed manifold injustice against them, it has placed them under the civil law, taken away their rights as corporate bodies, and robbed them of their property. In such property the Church had her rights, each member of the body had his or her rights, and there were also the rights of those who had founded or endowed them for a definite purpose, and of those for whose benefit and assistance they existed. Wherefore We cannot refrain from complaining of such spoliation as unjust and fraught with evil results, and with the more reason because, at the very time when the law proclaims that association is free to all, We see that Catholic societies, however peaceable and useful, are hindered in every way, whilst the utmost freedom is given to men whose objects are at once hurtful to Religion and dangerous to the State.

Associations of every kind, and especially those of workmen, are now far more common than formerly. In regard to many of these there is no need at present to inquire whence they spring, what are their objects or what means they use. But there is a good deal of evidence which goes to prove that many of these societies are in the hands of invisible leaders and are managed on principles far from compatible with Christianity and the public well-being and that they do their best to get into their hands the whole field of labor and to force workmen either to join them or to starve. Under these circumstances the Christian workmen must do one of two things: either join associations in which their religion will be exposed to peril or form associations among themselves — unite their forces and courageously shake off the yoke of an unjust and intolerable oppression. No one who does not wish to expose man's chief good to extreme danger will hesitate to say that the second alternative must by all means be adopted.

22. Catholic Benefit and Insurance Societies. — Those Catholics are worthy of all praise — and there are not a few — who, understanding what the times require, have, by various enterprises

and experiments, endeavored to better the conditions of the working people without any sacrifice of principle. They have taken up the cause of the workingman and have striven to make both families and individuals better off, to infuse the spirit of justice into the mutual relations of employers and employed, to keep before the eyes of both classes the precepts of duty and the laws of the gospel — that gospel which, by inculcating self-restraint, keeps men within the bounds of moderation and tends to establish harmony among the divergent interests and various classes which compose the State. It is with such ends in view that We see men of eminence meeting together for discussion, for the promotion of united action, and for practical work. Others, again, strive to unite working people of various kinds into associations, help them with their advice and their means, and enable them to obtain honest and profitable work. The bishops, on their part, bestow their ready good will and support, and with their approval and guidance many members of the clergy, both secular and regular, labor assiduously on behalf of the spiritual and mental interests of the members of association. And there are not wanting Catholics possessed of affluence who have, as it were, cast their lot with the wage earners and who have spent large sums in founding and widely spreading benefit and insurance societies, by means of which the workingman may without difficulty acquire by his labor not only many present advantages but also the certainty of honorable support in time to come. How much this multiplied and earnest activity has benefited the community at large is too well known to require Us to dwell upon it. We find in it the grounds of the most cheering hope for the future, provided that the associations We have described continue to grow and spread, and are well and wisely administered. Let the State watch over these Societies of citizens united together in the exercise of their right, but let it not thrust itself into their peculiar concerns and their organization, for things move and live by the soul within them, and they may be killed by the grasp of a hand from without.

In order that an association may be carried on with a unity of purpose and harmony of action, its organization and government must be firm and wise. All such Societies, being free to exist, have the further right to adopt such rules and organization as may best conduce to the attainment of their objects. We do not deem it possible to enter into definite details on the subject of organization, this must depend on national character, on practice and experience,

on the nature and scope of the work to be done, on the magnitude of the various trades and employments, and on other circumstances of fact and of time—all of which must be carefully weighed

23. Found the Organizations on Religion.—Speaking summarily, we may lay it down as a general and perpetual law that workmen's associations should be so organized and governed as to furnish the best and most suitable means for attaining what is aimed at, that is to say, for helping each individual member to better his condition to the utmost, in body, mind, and property. It is clear that they must pay special and principal attention to piety and morality and that their internal discipline must be directed precisely by these considerations, otherwise they entirely lose their special character and come to be very little better than those societies which take no account of religion at all. What advantage can it be to a workman to obtain by means of a society all that he requires, and to endanger his soul for want of spiritual food? *What doth it profit a man if he gain the whole world and suffer the loss of his own soul?*¹

This, as Our Lord teaches, is the note or character that distinguishes the Christian from the heathen. *After all these things do the heathen seek. . . . Seek ye first the Kingdom of God and His justice, and all these things shall be added unto you*². Let our associations, then, look first and before all to God, let religious instruction have therein a foremost place, each one being carefully taught what is his duty to God, what to believe, what to hope for, and how to work out his salvation, and let all be warned and fortified with especial solicitude against wrong opinions and false teaching. Let the workingman be urged and led to the worship of God, to the earnest practice of religion, and, among other things, to the sanctification of Sundays and festivals. Let him learn to reverence and love Holy Church, the common mother of us all, and so to obey the precepts and frequent the sacraments of the Church, those sacraments being the means ordained by God for obtaining forgiveness of sin and for leading a holy life.

The foundations of the organization being laid in religion, We next go on to determine the relations of the members, one to another, in order that they may live together in concord and go on prosperously and successfully. The offices and charges of the society should be distributed for the good of the society itself and in

¹ St. Matthew xvi, 26

² *Ibid.*, vi, 32-33.

such manner that difference in degree or position should not interfere with unanimity and good will. Office bearers should be appointed with prudence and discretion, and each one's charge should be carefully marked out, thus no member will suffer wrong. Let the common funds be administered with strictest honesty, in such a way that a member receives assistance in proportion to his necessities. The rights and duties of employers should be the subject of careful consideration as compared with the rights and duties of the employed. If it should happen that either a master or a workman deemed himself injured, nothing would be more desirable than that there should be a committee composed of honest and capable men of the association itself, whose duty it should be by the laws of the association, to decide the dispute. Among the purposes of a society should be to try to arrange for a continuous supply of work at all times and seasons, and to create a fund from which the members may be helped in their necessities, not only in case of accident, but also in sickness, old age, and misfortune.

Such rules and regulations, if obeyed willingly by all, will sufficiently ensure the well-being of poor people, whilst such mutual associations among Catholics are certain to be productive, in no small degree, of prosperity to the State. It is not rash to conjecture the future from the past. Age gives way to age, but the events of one century are wonderfully like those of another, for they are directed by the Providence of God, Who overrules the course of history in accordance with His purposes in creating the race of man. We are told that it was cast as a reproach on the Christians of the early ages of the Church that the greater number of them had to live by begging or by labor. Yet destitute as they were of wealth and influence they ended by winning over to their side the favor of the rich and the good will of the powerful. They showed themselves industrious, laborious, and peaceful, men of justice, and, above all, men of brotherly love. In the presence of such a life and such an example, prejudice disappeared, the tongue of malevolence was silenced, and the lying traditions of ancient superstition yielded little by little to Christian truth.

At this moment the condition of the working population is the question of the hour, and nothing can be of higher interest to all classes of the State than that it should be rightly and reasonably decided. But it will be easy for Christian workingmen to decide it aright if they form associations, choose wise guides, and follow

the same path which with so much advantage to themselves and the commonwealth was trod by their fathers before them. Prejudice, it is true, is mighty, and so is the love of money, but if the sense of what is just and right be not destroyed by depravity of heart, their fellow citizens are sure to be won over to a kindly feeling toward men whom they see to be so industrious and so modest, who so unmistakably prefer honesty to lucre and the sacredness of duty to all other considerations.

And another great advantage would result from the state of things We are describing, there would be so much more hope and possibility of recalling to a sense of their duty those workmen who have either given up their faith altogether or whose lives are at variance with its precepts. These men in most cases feel that they have been fooled by empty promises and deceived by false appearances. They cannot but perceive that their grasping employers too often treat them with the greatest inhumanity and hardly care for them beyond the profit their labor brings, and if they belong to an association, it is probably one in which there exists, in place of charity and love, that intestine strife which always accompanies unresigned and irreligious poverty. Broken in spirit and worn down in body, how many of them would gladly free themselves from this galling slavery! But human respect or the dread of starvation makes them afraid to take the step. To such as these, Catholic associations are of incalculable service, helping them out of their difficulties, inviting them to companionship, and receiving the repentant to a shelter in which they may securely trust.

We have now laid before you, Venerable Brethren, who are the persons and what are the means, by which this most difficult question must be solved. Every one must put his hand to work which falls to his share, and that at once and immediately, lest the evil which is already so great may by delay become absolutely beyond remedy. Those who rule the State must use the law and the institutions of the country, masters and rich men must remember their duty, the poor, whose interests are at stake, must make every lawful and proper effort, since religion alone, as We said at the beginning, can destroy the evil at its root, all men must be persuaded that the primary thing needful is to return to real Christianity, in the absence of which all the plans and devices of the wisest will be of little avail.

So far as regards the Church, its assistance will never be want-

ing, be the time or the occasion what it may, and it will intervene with great effect in proportion as its liberty of action is the more unfettered. Let this be carefully noted by those whose office it is to provide for the public welfare. Every minister of holy religion must throw into the conflict all the energy of his mind, and all the strength of his endurance, with your authority, Venerable Brethren, and by your example, they must never cease to urge upon all men of every class, upon the high as well as the lowly, the gospel doctrines of Christian life, by every means in their power they must strive for the good of the people, and above all they must earnestly cherish in themselves and try to arouse in others Charity, the mistress and queen of virtues. For the happy results we all long for must be chiefly brought about by the plenteous outpouring of charity, of that true Christian charity which is the fulfilling of the whole gospel law, which is always ready to sacrifice itself for others' sake, and which is man's surest antidote against worldly pride and immoderate love of self, that charity whose office is described and whose Godlike features are drawn by the Apostle St. Paul in these words *Charity is patient, is kind . . . seeketh not her own . . . suffereth all things . . . endureth all things*¹

¹ I CORINTHIANS XIII, 5-7

CHAPTER II

THE MINISTRY OF CHRISTIAN CHARITY¹

The opportunity of speaking in the cause of Christian charity is to me always an honor, a privilege, and a sacred duty. To address, as on this occasion, a representative body of leaders, teachers, builders, and workers in the vast and varied field of charitable endeavor increases the honor, enhances the privilege, and deepens the sense of responsibility.

Tonight I might speak unto edification, were I to review your short and splendid history or call to mind your notable achievements or praise the fine sense of your charity which operates without friction or stint. This grateful service has already been rendered by Bishop Shahan in his gracious welcome at the opening of the conference. I am restrained also from offering to you at this time suggestions of a purely practical nature, partly for the reason that I may be found carrying coals to Newcastle. I am conscious that you are possessed of a great store of wisdom gained in the field of experience, and to this wisdom much information has been added through the discussion of ways and means, methods, and solutions during the sessions which have just reached their close.

The just reason which leads me to turn my thoughts from the practical aspects of the ministry of charity is my desire to take full advantage of this opportunity by presenting to you the supremely noble ideal of the ministry of Christian charity. The ideal always influences practice, and for the sake of energizing your work and defining your motives, I can perform no better service than to impress upon you the place of this ministry in the Church, the spiritual sense, and the supernatural character of it, its claim as a universal duty, and lastly its value and contribution to our national life. I would have you bear with me while I picture with the help of cold statistics the results of the ministry of Christian charity in

¹ Patrick Cardinal Hayes, Archbishop of New York. Reprinted from the Eleventh National Conference of Catholic Charities, September, 1925, with permission of the author.

the United States It will serve as food for serious thought, as a stimulus to greater action, and as the basis for our spiritual interpretation

SOCIETY OF ST VINCENT DE PAUL IN UNITED STATES

(Report of year ending September 30, 1923)

Number of Conferences	1,364
Number of Active Members	18,744
Number of Families Assisted	25,740
Number of Persons in These Families	97,075
Total Expenditures	\$977,293 88

CATHOLIC CHARITABLE AGENCIES IN UNITED STATES

Aged, Homes of	121
Day Nurseries	116
Homes for Children	316
Industrial Schools	110
Hospitals	600
Homes for Delinquent Girls	58
Residences for Girls	120
Social Centers and Settlements	95
Women's Clubs and Societies	240
Central Bureaus in Cities	32
Diocesan Directors	24
	<hr/>
	1,832

1. Charity, the Supreme Test.—I hold it to be the shining truth, conceived in faith and proved in history, that charity is the supreme test and goal of all human relations Charity lies at the heart of the world, and without charity the riddle of the universe which has vexed the minds of the sages remains cold and dark When scientific research ruling charity out of court attempts to pry into the origin, the conduct, and the destiny of man, it is doomed from the outset to failure The glory that is man cannot be explored through the microscope, neither can it be laid open with the scalpel nor weighed on the scales In a word, creation is more than a scientific proposition, because both the universe and man owe their existence to the infinite love of God

It is when the world of nature and of man is beheld, glowing with the light and heat of charity, that the God of creation is revealed, and in Him all human relations find their norm and value Our Heavenly Father chose us in His love before the foundation of the world according to the purpose of His will This mystery of God's will, pure science does not know, and therefore it cannot remedy our pains, sorrows, and offenses The balm that soothes, the virtue that

heals, and the power that forgives flow only from charity. Divine love must be the root and the sap of any successful solution which provides a wholesome panacea for human ills and social disorders. For this purpose, Christian charity girds itself to serve humanity, in harmony with the will of God and prompted by the love of God.

In every age the unity of Catholic faith has found its bond and expression, its strength and appeal "in the charity of brotherhood"¹ Under the impulse of charity, as history bears witness, the religion of Jesus Christ drew into its fold the nations of the earth, giving proof to the world that the Church of God abided in perfect charity in Her Founder. It is by "doing the truth in charity"² that the kingdom of God grows up in Him Who is its head. As Pius X sadly observed to Cardinal Farley when the black clouds of war settled over Europe, "You cannot build up the kingdom of God on earth upon the ruins of Christian charity." No nation, no people can long endure in peace and safety, if racial and religious hatred and class bitterness set at naught Christian brotherhood. When Christian charity departs from the coasts of a nation, peace goes with it.

It is ordained by Christ that charity is essential for those who would be united to Him and would follow Him. The words of Christ constitute for the members of His Church both the test of sincerity and the counsel of charity. "By this shall all men know that you are My disciples, if you have love one for another."³ This message His Church has carried into every land and in every age. We hear it proclaimed from the lips of the ardent St. Paul and the eloquent St. John Chrysostom, from the tender St. Vincent de Paul and the brilliant Leo XIII. In our day we have seen it spelt out in the life of Benedict XV, of happy memory, whose fatherly heart provided for the starving and the helpless during the World War and afterward.

2. The Gospel and Paganism.—The new gospel which Christian charity preached, paganism neither welcomed nor approved, for the reason that the self-love, the self-interest, the vehement selfishness of the pagan soul revolted against the folly of Christian charity which aspired even to self-sacrifice for friend and enemy. To enrich self by despoiling others, to honor self by despising others, to save self by slaying others, was the accepted philosophy of pagan life, any other standard of conduct seemed to run counter to the first law of nature, self-preservation. Paganism had yet to learn the

¹ I Thessalonians iv, 9

² Ephesians iv, 15

³ St. John xiii, 35

divine alchemy whereby Christian charity shifts the center of interest and the center of love from self to another object more precious than self. The pagan soul had yet to behold the law of love working itself out in the heart of a Christian child of God.

The vision of the crucified God-Man in Whom the law of love was fulfilled, now floods the souls of men with light and grace. By the power of the cross of Christ, converted hearts have been impelled to rise from the ashes of their dead selves unto newness of life, putting on Christ, the Lord. The law of nature has given way to the law of grace, the law of self-preservation has yielded to the law of love. The ideal to which the Christian conforms is symbolized by the cross. "That you love one another as I have loved you"¹. The love and the manner wherewith the disciple of Christ loves can be gaged only "according to the measure of the giving of Christ"². And that measure can be estimated only in terms of life and death. "Greater love than this no man hath than that a man lay down his life for his friends"³.

The charity of Christ has inspired countless men and women throughout history to embrace poverty and to practice heroic self-denial, even to meet death joyfully in the service of the poor, the helpless, and the afflicted. For just as it is natural for Christ in His love to give to us, the Christian soul, consumed with the love of Christ, can be satisfied only in giving for Christ, by Christ, and in Christ. The law of Christian charity operates in the soul of Christ's disciple, to the utter exclusion of self. The motive for giving is Christ, the measure of the giving is Christ; the standard of values in giving is Christ. The cup of cold water and the widow's mite given in the name of Christ overtop the princely human donation at an infinite distance, because the gift finds its value not in itself, it is made sacred through the Christlike love of the giver.

The magnetic spell and the noble motive of Christian charity which charmed selfishness out of the pagan Roman soul and which attracted the barbarians of the frozen north to the mystery of the cross have left an indelible impress upon the social service of all times. The motive of merely human endeavor does not shine with the glory of Christian charity, seeing that it is prompted by the love of man for man, and aims at the human good of man, yet it is noble, because the line of its activity and the focus of its interest are away from self. Humanitarian movements owe much to the preachment

¹ St. John xv, 12

² Ephesians iv, 7.

³ St. John xv, 13

of the cross. If during these twenty centuries the Catholic Church had not proclaimed and practiced Christian charity and evangelical poverty, it is reasonable to question whether man's humanity to man would have reached organized being. If thousands of the worldly rich among the children of the Church had not renounced wealth and ambition to tread in the steps of the lowly Christ, there is the right to ask whether the modern institutions of philanthropy would have grown into the vast proportions through which they now function. If, finally, the generations of the poor in the Church had not rejoiced in their poverty, valuing in faith the nobility of the state which made them akin and like unto the Master Himself, it is highly reasonable to question whether modern humanitarian movements for social betterment would have harvested the huge success which they now enjoy.

3. The Spiritual Sense. — The ministry of Christian charity in which the Church has always engaged is the visible sign to the world that "the charity of Christ presseth" her.¹ It is the urgency of Christ's own love for the needy of soul and body which calls, constrains, commands, and blesses the Catholic heart. Even noble souls who are without the pale of the Church have been caught by the appeal and have enlisted in the service of their fellow man, hardly recognizing the voice, hardly conscious of the power that moves them. But they of the Church know and believe, strong in faith, that service to the brethren is a bounden duty, simply because the brethren are the objects of the Saviour's own merciful compassion and love. As they conceive it, a deed wrought for Christ's lowly brethren is done, in a manner marvelously real, to Christ Himself. "Amen I say to you, as long as you did it to one of these My least brethren, you did it to Me."² The goal and the test of human relations, as I have said, are charity, for the Christian soul, the goal and the test are in Christ Jesus the Lord. In the God-Man, all relations, human and divine, meet. In Christ, God in His love chose man, in Christ, man loves God and man. Our love of God and our love of man are judged by our relations with Jesus Christ.

With this essential principle of faith and conduct clear to view, who shall deny that in Christ we are our brother's keeper? Who can escape the sacred duty of ministering unto Christ in His brethren, suffering in soul or body? Terrible indeed will be the indictment lodged against Christ's prelates, priests, and people if ever it can be

¹ II Corinthians v, 14

² St. Matthew xxv, 40

said in truth that the lowly members of Christ's Body came to their own and their own received them not! The woe will be unto condemnation because the charity of Christ was made void in them. Terrible will be the judgment on us, if through the failing of our charity Christ hidden in His brethren shall receive from the scoffer and the denier of the Cross the welcome and the help refused Him by His adorers.

The success, glorious in itself, which has crowned our efforts in church and school and institution, cannot satisfy the charity of Christ within us. In fact, our work in this portion of the Lord's vineyard can be seriously offset and even marred if we fail to provide for God's poor in the untouched streets and lanes of our cities and towns. There is a law which operates in our midst, inexorable in its process. The intimate and vital relation which exists in the Church between member and member calls for the active exercise of charity toward all, if death is not to ensue in the neglected parts. In the hovels of the poor and in the dens of vice, the charity of Christ must be poured out in cleansing streams if the souls of these outcasts are not to be laid to our charge. It is our holy duty to make straight the paths for the Good Shepherd through these jungle lands and desert wastes of want and shame and sorrow. We must pitch the tents of divine compassion and mercy in the congested centers that Christian charity may roof the homeless, heal the sick in soul and body, save the boy, and protect the girl.

4. Studying Changed Conditions.—In the exercise of their pastoral office, the shepherds of the flock should not be content simply to fold those sheep by night, which all the day long abide in their care. There are other sheep, precious with infinite value to the heart of the Divine Shepherd, they are astray among the hills, hungry and thirsty and weary, easy prey for the wolf and the lion that come up from Hell to devour them. If the priest shepherd neglect the one that is lost, he will incur the merited reproach of the hireling who "hath no care for the sheep."¹ The height and the depth, the length and the breadth to which our holy calling commands us to go, should not be measured by any human rule, our Model is Christ. "I am the good shepherd. The good shepherd giveth his life for his sheep."²

In the changed conditions and complex problems of modern life, the chance that untrained zeal might be misguided, though lacking

¹ St John x, 13

² *Ibid* x, 11

nothing in good will, is probable to a serious degree, and signals of warning should be set against it. Both reason and faith show cause why we should bend our minds to accurate and exhaustive study of the new methods and the new means proposed by science for the advancement of charitable work. The methods and practices of past generations met the needs of their day and, indeed, offer for our times certain helps. But there is a multitude of problems confronting the Church today which were unknown a few generations ago. The situation calls for skillful training, if the wise Catholic principle is to work out its brilliant results, "Search out the cause and remove the occasion."

Zealous charity alone cannot reach with full success the souls who are strangers to the knowledge and the love of God by reason of their physical, mental, or moral affliction. These needs we must meet in the form of mental clinics, probation and parole systems, service in our juvenile courts, and scientific hospital care for the cancerous, the tubercular, the crippled, and the insane. New methods must be applied to preserve the home life of children and to give academic and vocational training to the blind and the deaf and the mentally defective. As Dr. Kerby has said, to whose vision, inspiration, and labor the conference owes so much, "We must hold and assert all that is effective and wholesome in the work of the past. But we must seek out everything that is helpful in what is new and effect improvement in the service by absorbing information, by adopting the lessons of experience and improving our standards in the light of newer insight into the social relations of every kind as these affect the poor."¹

5. Supernatural Motives in Social Work. — The ministry of relief, health, protective care, and education loom up before us as a prime duty, because the need is vast and the demand for action is most urgent. Withal, the supernatural character of this ministry of mercy and care should never yield first place in thought or action to any other conviction, because with it are bound up the source of our energy, the purpose of our endeavor, and the pledge of our success. The ideals and the principles which inspire and guarantee the life of charity must find deeper root and stouter defense in the lives of the faithful lest divine grace be neglected for human strength, lest the purpose of God's will be lost in scientific aims, lest, again, trust in God wait on temporal expedients. If we keep our mission on a

¹ *Social Mission of Charity*, p. 191

supernatural plane, there is no danger that the scientific and human spirit will supplant the spiritual influence of faith. Our duty is only to imitate Christ in His mission. "I must work the works of Him that sent Me"¹

It is true that we should bring to the ministry of charity, as I have said, the best thought of modern science, and we should work in harmony as much as possible with all the agencies which act for the common good of the city, state, and nation. Yet, in this united action and expert skill, let there be no dimness in the supernatural character of our work. Hold firmly to the spiritual principles and the truths of faith which God in His charity has ordained for Christian labor. To the sound methods, right principles and just standards which are required by present-day conditions, the Church brings a blessing, a grace and an unction which are all her own, springing as they do from Christ Himself Who receives this service of faith and science through His suffering members. The stubborn obstacles which confront us in the ministry of mercy need never dishearten us, for with St. Paul we should profess the source of our strength. "I can do all things in Him Who strengtheneth me"². Faith in the power of Christ in His Church can bring to our service the grace of wonder working manifested to an extent which recalls the glory of the early Church. "Amen, Amen, I say to you, he that believeth in Me, the works that I do, he also shall do, and greater than these shall he do"³.

The heavenly power which God in His love bestows upon the members of His Church for their ministry of Christian charity is not to be exercised with the sole purpose of remedying social injustice. To relieve the poverty-stricken, as though poverty were an unmixed evil always to be shunned, is not in harmony with the example of Him Who had "not where to lay His head,"⁴ or with the solemn benediction on the Mount. "Blessed are ye poor"⁵. To heal the sick, as though pain were a curse never to be suffered with will, finds no sanction in the life of the God-Man Who "took on our infirmities and bore our diseases"⁶. When the mission of relief is exaggerated, danger rides in the offing, discontent may be roused in the souls of the unfortunate where once humble resignation to the will of God reigned supreme.

¹ St. John ix, 4

² Philippians iv, 13

³ St. John xiv, 12

⁴ St. Matthew viii, 20

⁵ St. Luke vi, 20

⁶ St. Matthew viii, 17

6. The Example of Christ.—True Christian charity indued with "the mind of Christ"¹ regards poverty and pain and sorrow after the manner of a forge where God fashions souls into the image of His Son. It is when these afflictions separate souls from the love of God and so manifest themselves as the instruments of Satan that Christian unity labors to destroy them according to the purpose of Christ. "For this purpose the Son of God appeared that He might destroy the works of the devil"². The aim of Christian charity is not primarily concerned with the reign of social justice, for the "poor you have always with you"³. Charity spends itself and is spent to "reestablish all things in Christ,"⁴ to bring to all men the reign of Christ. When misfortune sends out its appeal through stress of mind, body, or soul, charity looks through and beyond the visible forms of tears, want, and sorrow, until it beholds Christ Himself. When Christ beckons to His own through the cry of the poor or the wail of the anguished or the groan of the agonizing or even through the sullenness of the despairing, charity is alert and faithful in service for the brethren of Christ that they "may in all things grow up in" Christ⁵.

The sublime presence of Christ in which Christian charity lives and moves and has its being imparts to human sympathy and help a heavenly touch and a spiritual power. Through the medium of charity, Christ appears so wonderfully human and man so gloriously divine. The nobility and the value of the human soul shines out never so brightly as in the light of the love of Christ. "I lay down My life for My Sheep"⁶. "I am come," says Christ, "that they may have life and may have it more abundantly"⁷. To this end, Christ in His Church works through man and man works through Christ. With the eternal salvation of the human soul as its constant quest, "charity never falleth away"⁸. Be the conditions of life most revolting, charity knows neither disgrace nor disgust. If the human form be misshapen or the mind distorted or the disease loathsome or the crime shocking, charity cannot be stayed, because these souls "are Christ's,"⁹ "bought with a great price,"¹⁰ redeemed by the precious blood of the Son of God. That Christ may abide in

¹ I Corinthians ii, 16

² I John iii, 8

³ *Ibid* iii, 8

⁴ Ephesians i, 10

⁵ *Ibid* iv, 15

⁶ St John x, 15

⁷ *Ibid* x, 10

⁸ I Corinthians xii, 8

⁹ *Ibid* iii, 28

¹⁰ *Ibid* vi, 23

these stricken lives, it may be necessary either to rebuild the wretched prisons of clay in which they are housed or to pour the light of reason into darkened minds or, again, to drive out the evil spirits which infest their being. All things are possible to the Church of God, because Christ, Who is "the power of God and the wisdom of God,"¹ reigns in His Church and against Her "the gates of Hell shall not prevail."²

7. The Universal Duty. — It is the nature of Christ's eternal love for man that the Church should be charged to carry on the mission of mercy and salvation which He Himself exercised during His mortal life. "The poor," He said, "you have always with you, and whosoever you will, you may do them good."³ The charity of Christ fills His Church, and the Church with the wisdom and power of Christ lays upon each bishop the care of the poor within the confines of his diocese. From the earliest times, the discipline of the Church has imposed upon the pastoral office of the bishop the duties of the true shepherd, that he seek out "that which was lost," that he reclaim "that which was driven away," that he bind up "that which was broken," and that he strengthen "that which was weak."⁴ Symbolical of this sacred duty was the beautiful custom which survived during the ages when Christ's Room was to be found in the bishop's house. Thither the poor and the afflicted and the stranger repaired that they might receive refreshment for soul and body. It was truly Christ's Room, for as St. John Chrysostom observes, "Who feeds the poor, feeds Christ." Present in this room, the holy hope of the bishop was ever quickened, his service made constant, and his charity kept alert, through the words of St. Paul: "Hospitality do not forget, for by this some, being unaware of it, have entertained angels."⁵ My thoughts are brought back to the Catholic charities of New York which serve for me, as archbishop, the purposes of Christ's Room. Through its agency, nearly two hundred thousand of Christ's needy brethren have been served and blessed during the year.

8. Necessary of United Organization. — When we survey the vast field which, in modern times, Christian charity must plant and water, the necessity of united, organized action is apparent to all. Truly, as our blessed Lord said to His disciples, "The harvest in-

¹ I Corinthians i, 24

² St. Matthew xvi, 18

³ Mark vi, 7

⁴ Ezekiel xxxiv, 16

⁵ Hebrews vii, 2

deed is great, but the laborers are few. Pray ye therefore the Lord of the harvest, that He send forth laborers into His harvest "1. This prayer goes up from the heart of Christ as He beholds the modern fields unharvested. No longer can the bishop and the clergy act alone as the almoners of the Lord. The field has become vast, the labor prodigious, the expenses enormous. Without the wholehearted and full cooperation of the clergy and the religious and the laity, the bishop cannot adequately execute the solemn mandate of love and mercy which the Saviour has entrusted, under episcopal supervision, to the members of His Church.

Christ's Room, in these days, should grow apace with the numbers and the resources of a diocese until its ministry of charity betoken the presence of Christ from end to end. For where the unfortunate are, there is Christ in the midst of them. Every diocese should have its Pool of Bethesda which is fed by hidden streams reaching up from the deep heart of the earth, where affliction may drink of the waters of mercy moved by the angel of Christian charity. God Himself united these rills and torrents until they formed a broad expanse of healing waters. And Christ in His Church urges His members in these days to be united with the bond of "faith with charity,"2 that "by doing the truth in charity" the diocese may grow up in Christ.

The warning which "One like to the Son of Man" caused to be sent to the bishop of Ephesus should quicken the resolution to set charity aflame in our land, for only in perfect charity is the fear of the unprofitable servant made pure folly. "I have somewhat against thee, because thou hast left thy first charity"3. As St. Paul writes to the Colossians, "Above all things have charity, which is the bond of perfection"4. It was not given to the confluent streams of the Probatica Pool to say to the Lord of Creation, "I will not run." Nor is it given to the members of Christ's Body, the Church, to cry out against serving the weaker brother, "I have no need of you"5. For this contempt toward affliction only one answer can be made. "They have not so learned of Christ"6. Let me simply present to you St. Paul's penetrating thought on this duty of ministering to Christ's brethren in an organized way. "For the body is not one member, but many. And if one member suffer anything, all the

1 St. Matthew x, 37-38

2 Ephesians vi, 23

3 Apocalypse ii, 4

4 Colossians iii, 14

5 I Corinthians xii, 21

6 Ephesians iv, 20

members suffer with it, or if one member glory, all the members rejoice with it. Now you are the body of Christ, and members of member"¹ This corporate union in Christ, of members with their Head, requires as the distinct sign of life that the multitude of members cooperate in perfect harmony and full generosity for the up-building of the organism.

Organized Christian charity, at least in America, must be recognized in our day as of stern necessity, at the same time, it brings into healthy exercise the spiritual powers of the multitude. It is a matter of record that the large majority who contribute to organized movements draw on their personal resources at the cost of self-sacrifice. This element they enlist in the various types of endeavor, with the result that a form of altruistic motive is brought into play. The purely supernatural element is seen bearing its fruitage in action when the Catholic faithful contribute to divine worship as a sacred duty, or to education as a religious cause. In the field of charity, this altruism and spirituality of motive come clearly to view. Love of God and love of neighbor are virtues which ripen on the same stem, they appear distinct, but they are never separate; so long as one is lacking the other cannot come to bud.

An immense store of holy energy quite dissipates itself in private charities, to the neglect of greater opportunities, and may I add, with a resulting lack of spiritual exercise and growth in Christlike stature. It is evident, then, that organized charity in no way affects the personal element in the mission of mercy, rather it stimulates the sense of union in Christ by increasing in the faithful lively sympathy for a larger number of God's unfortunates and by educating them to the realization of their power for service. The aim of organized Catholic charities is as much a matter of personal equation as of material resources. "I seek not the things that are yours but you"² The spiritual quality of the cooperation which we receive from the people of humble means and hard toil is the best token that our charity is truly Christian, having as the test and the goal Christ, the Son of God, in His suffering brethren. With Christ animating organized charity, its spiritual power and its social value are destined to bring down benediction upon the individual and the nation.

9. The Church's Contribution to Our National Life. — The rich blessings which Christian charity scatters lavishly in its path are

¹ I Corinthians xii, 14, 26-27

² II Corinthians xii, 14.

commonly estimated in the spiritual order and with reference to eternity. It is the habit of faith to look beyond the things of time and sense, into the realm of grace and into the treasure house of Heaven. Yet, there is a God-given rôle assigned to the public display of good works which is destined to influence even the political ideals and the social values of the nation. A nation, after all, is a collection of individuals whose corporate temper and tone can be affected by the dynamic influence of an organized group within its bounds. I can conceive no spectacle more attractive to the public eye, more compelling to the public conscience, than the noble figure of Christian charity as it ministers to the helpless and the outcast over wide areas and with generous, united action. While it is true that in the Christian ministry of relief neither the bond that binds nor the motive that urges nor the end in view is earthly, still Christian charity and a nation's conduct find a common center in the eternal relations between God and man, as well as between man and man. Should it occur that national ideals shift from this base or social values conform to a different standard, Christian charity which "never falleth away," can be summoned to serve as the corrective for the one and for the other.

It is a matter of common experience in our day that there is a pronounced tendency in our national life to test every human relation, from the cradle to the grave, by a purely human valuation. This evil thing, like a worm in the bud, is working itself through the masses of the people, threatening to make ruin of lofty ideals and sterling values if allowed to grow to giant strength. To call it "materialism" is simply to expose it in its naked brutishness. There is a sterner, nobler duty set before us which faith and patriotism charge us to perform. Just as unbelief, human values, and legal selfishness gather force and influence when they are exercised in human life, so, too, charity is never so attractive as when it is spelt out in human actions. It is incumbent upon us as members of Christ's Church, to be witnesses unto the charity of Christ to the uttermost parts of our land, that it may be said in God's appointed time, "Behold, the whole world has gone after Him."¹ It is our duty as American citizens that we give practical profession of our faith in the spiritual dignity of man and in the eternal destiny of the human soul, thereby to assert the sublime elements of citizenship.

10. Dangers of False Standards.— Unless the earth-born and

¹ St. John xii, 19

earthward tendency of the times be checked in its course, we cannot look untouched with fear into the future. There is a Providence which shapes the ends of nations as well as of individuals. The peoples of the earth need God's providing care as much as the lilies of the fields and the birds of the air. And the God of the nations "is charity."¹ History reads truest when it presents God as presiding over the destiny of a nation. Never a nation rose to heights of true glory did not God place it there. Never a nation sped to its doom, did not God justly decree it so. The glory and the ruin of a people are from God. "As it is written: Jacob I have loved, but Esau I have hated."² May I ask with St. Paul, "Is there injustice in God?"³ As the course of history lengthens out before our eyes, we see that "through the ages an increasing purpose runs," that the function of religion in the life of a nation is to prepare a perfect people for the reign of Christ the Lord. Neither political forms nor social forces can serve as a substitute, lacking as they do the living strength which creates, preserves, and perfects. Religion alone, "endued with power from on high,"⁴ can fashion a nation for its destiny, binding it together "with the cords of Adam, with the bands of love."⁵ Charity is the ferment which can leaven the spirit of a nation, purging it of false aspirations and base values, suffusing it with "the charity of brotherhood." When a nation yielding to ungodly tendencies casts off religion and charity, the protecting shadow of God moves away, because God "is charity." He is the test and the goal of a nation's relations. Without charity no people can long survive: "He that loveth not, abideth in death."⁶

The fear of this menace loses its grip upon our hearts as we recall the days, not far distant, when America was the almoner of the world. Hardly had the smoke of battle lifted from the fields when the fleets of mercy cleared our ports, bearing the nation's money, stores, and personal service to ancient friend and former foe alike. The glory of that hour is the hope of the future, because at heart the nation has not changed; the noble impulses of the democracy are not dead. You have doubtless observed on the sea when the waves mounted highest in the storm that the hidden rocks came to view. In like manner, when hate and greed raged fiercest among the nations, the soul of America was bared, the noble veins

¹ St. John iv, 8

² Romans ix, 13

³ *Ibid.*, ix, 14

⁴ Luke xxiv, 49

⁵ Osee xi, 4

⁶ I John iii, 14

of democracy were tapped, and "the charity of brotherhood" gushed forth in streams of mercy and compassion. The American republic has always found expression for its noblest emotions, not in toleration which easily descends to the level of political expediency, not in justice which knows how to extract its pound of flesh. The American people live best when they serve in charity. And, in turn, charity finds congenial soil in democracy. The glorious monument which stands beyond is the true symbol of democracy. In the heroic figure of Abraham Lincoln, who in life and death consecrated himself to the purest ideals of the nation, the law of "the charity of brotherhood" shall ever find inspiration. "With charity toward all, with malice toward none."

CHAPTER III

THE PSYCHOLOGY AND THE PHYSIOLOGY OF HABIT¹

1. **What is a Habit?** — A habit is defined as a stable and permanent facility in performing acts. It is at the outset important to realize that a habit, if it is to have moral worth, does not mean acting mechanically. A locomotive always behaves in the same way as soon as the steam is turned on or off, simply because it is so constructed and cannot help it. Similarly in life men acquire a way of "acting in a groove," as we call it, without reflection or purpose, and in this respect they differ little from machines. A habit involves a like regularity of action under like circumstances, but if ethical value is looked for, it means something more. It means *facility* in the will to say yes or no according to a certain standard of conduct dominating the mind — in other words, a facility in putting principles into practice — the principles being already there.

2. **Early Inculcation of Habits.** — The first question is: How soon can the inculcation of habits begin? The answer is: Make no delay, but begin at the very first possible moment, taking into account, however, the capacity of the subject at all stages of his existence and adapting the means and methods accordingly.

In the baby stage the training of a human being differs in no way from that of a pup, and all our influence must be exercised physically and from without. If the baby spits its sucking teat out, put it in again, and keep putting it in till the infant takes its food. If it kicks and struggles, or scrambles out of its cot, put it back again, and in the last resort tie it down till it learns to keep quiet, etc., etc. As soon as the child stage begins, the sense impulses have to be directed by an appeal to the sense perceptions. The child is told to do this or not to do that, and the command is enforced by a show of pleasure or displeasure, reward and punishment, and even where necessary by physical coercion of a more absolute kind.

¹ Reprinted with permission from Hull Ernest R., S. J., *The Formation of Character*. Herder, St. Louis.

Much at this stage can be done to teach the child habits of cleanliness, refined and quiet behavior, accommodation to the wishes of others, etc , and to prevent the formation of contrary habits such as slovenliness, rudeness, rowdiness, inconsiderateness, insolence, and the like. Much can also be done to insure a moderate and pleasant use of the voice, upright and graceful carriage, accuracy and distinctness in speaking, etc , etc. Also the habit of respecting things as well as persons — using books and furniture gently, keeping toys and pictures neatly and in good condition, instead of recklessly destroying them or letting them lie about in disorder, etc. Pleasures can be linked with corresponding duties, for example, if a romp is allowed, things must be put straight afterwards, if a holiday is given today, lessons must be all the better done tomorrow, etc. Then, there are the restraints of time and place — to get up and go to bed and to take meals at the right time, to keep in the nursery and not wander into the parlor without leave, to come indoors or to go out according to regulation, to leave the drawing-room without resistance when told. Finally, various forms of self-restraint, such as not to cry without reason, and then in moderation and only for a short time, not to shout at close quarters, or to make a disproportionate noise in the house, etc.

The number of possible details may look overwhelming, but in practice they all reduce themselves to a certain orderly discipline in the household — not too severe or farreaching, not too difficult or burdensome — and a quiet vigilance to see that the child conforms to it — inducing the child as far as possible to observe the code by itself without having to be told every time, or in other words, dispensing with the leading strings as far as possible. The aim is to secure gradually the largest amount of self-management which the character of the child allows, and only supplementing it by external aids as far as the child fails to manage for itself.

For it cannot be realized too keenly, even in the earliest stages, that all real training is self-training, and that habits enforced from without are worthless, except so far as they are responded to by a process of self-formation within. Under external pressure the child will do this and abstain from that, not by any wish of its own, but merely because it is pushed in one direction or pulled in another, or repressed or tied up as it were by the ligaments of a command — its mental attitude being merely passive.

On the contrary, the attitude of cooperation from within means

internal activity. The child is not merely willing to do what it is told but takes up in a certain way the point of view of the parents, assimilates the orders given, fixes them in his mind as rules for other occasions also, and thus creates for himself a code of conduct which he will naturally follow when left to himself. Only by this internal process of self-training can be acquired that regular and permanent facility of acting in a certain way which constitutes a habit.

Manifestly, then, the formation of habits in this ethical sense of the word is only possible in so far as the reason is awakened and ready to be appealed to. The *full* attainment of reason is generally supposed to take place at the age of seven more or less, but it is really working behind the scenes much earlier, at least as soon as the baby passes into the child—say at the age of two. This is proved to demonstration by the acquisition of language. The first attempts to articulate sound may be merely parrothike—the outcome of the instinct of imitation, but as soon as the child begins to use words with the slightest intention of meaning something by them, it is manifest that reason is behind, for no faculty lower than intellect is capable of such a mental process.

Hence the formation of habits must not be put off, but must be begun at least as soon as the child begins to speak—and in fact, this will be precisely the sign *when* to begin. The child will not at first understand anything about the reasons for a given command, but he will at least grasp the command as an idea, and will be able to make it his own.

3. Association of Ideas.—But while laying stress on the ethical aspect of habits, we must not lose sight of their physical basis. It is important to realize the part which the physical plays in human life, even in acts whose performance necessarily postulates intellect and will. This appears most clearly in those actions which we perform without seeming to think about them in the least—for example, walking, talking, and eating. But it goes much further than this. A certain musician who was in the habit of elaborate extemporizing on the organ once told me that he always played best while thinking of something else. His power of extemporizing was the outcome of years not only of manual practice but also of scientific study of harmony, counterpoint, figured bass, etc. And yet so accustomed had his fingers become to handling the keys according to this knowledge that he was able to produce the fullest and most

subtle and complicated structures both of harmony and melody without reflecting once on what he was doing — in fact, he always made more mistakes when attending than when not attending

The explanation of this and kindred phenomena is to be sought in the constitution of the nerves and brain, and includes a psychological and physiological factor. The psychological factor lies in what is called "association of ideas" or of images. The various impressions of the mind do not lie isolated one beside another. They are linked with each other by a most complicated set of relations, so that as soon as one of them rises to the surface of consciousness, it tends to draw up a certain other idea with which it is in some way connected; and this second will bring up a third, and the third a fourth, and so on. How often in a reverie do we find our thoughts passing from one thing to another with a smooth gliding sequence, although there is no apparent connection and no internal sequence in the series. Nevertheless, the connection is there, though sometimes of the most casual kind. My watch reminds me of Dr. Porter, because it once belonged to him; Dr. Porter reminds me of Farm Street confessional, because it was there I first met him, Farm Street confessional reminds me of Stockwell, where I lived at the time, Stockwell reminds me of a certain artist friend who lived near, this artist friend reminds me of St. Bartholomew's Church, Smithfield, because he it was who first took me there, St. Bartholomew's, Smithfield, reminds me of the Great Fire of London, because close by was the spot where it ceased to burn, the Fire of London reminds me of Defoe, who wrote a graphic account of it, Defoe reminds me of Robinson Crusoe, of which he was the author, Robinson Crusoe reminds me of the nursery where I first read it, the nursery reminds me of my old nurse, my old nurse reminds me of the cottage where she lived, that cottage reminds me of something else — and so on, and so on. Moreover, when once a certain sequence of associations like this has been indulged in, it has always a tendency to repeat itself whenever the mind happens to fall upon any of its component elements.

4. The Use of Association. — The bearing of "association" on the formation of habits is obvious. When a cat learns not to drink milk on the shelf through being whipped, it is simply the previous connection of two ideas which produces the cure. As soon as the little creature sees the milk on the shelf and feels an impulse

to drink it, up comes the associated reminiscence of whipping to follow. If the apprehension of the pain is more vivid than the impulse towards the pleasure, it will leave the milk alone. The approval and disapproval, the punishments and rewards dealt out to a child have precisely the same effect. As the mind develops, these associations of ideas acquire a higher meaning. In how many cases is a child cured of stealing (or some other vice) for the whole of his life because of a stupendous whipping he once got when young. In after years he knows perfectly well that the days of whipping are over, but the severity with which the sin was visited in the past has stamped on his mind such an impression of its heinousness that he can never forget it. In consequence, a temptation to steal and a determination not to steal have come to be linked together in his mind, and the connection has become so habitual by repetition that now the idea of stealing, when it occurs, does not amount to a temptation at all.

This instance illustrates the value of associating two ideas together when the result of the combination is good, for instance, where the idea of a bad action is linked with some other idea calculated to act as a deterrent. And, of course, the same advantage will accrue when the idea of a good act is linked to another which will serve as an encouragement to perform it. But besides the advantage of linking ideas together, there is also, conversely, an advantage in dissociating them. Thus, for example, the idea of a bad act ought to be severed from any other idea which will encourage it, and the idea of a good act should be dissociated from any idea which is calculated to discourage it. In the affairs of ordinary life, cases are known in which even grown-up men will never venture to mount a horse because they were once badly thrown. Similarly, people who have been tricked by a loafer sometimes become extremely hard in dealing even with the deserving poor. We have a proverbial saying that "nothing succeeds like success," which means that success creates that self-confidence which is one of the conditions for further success. But we might with equal or greater truth frame another proverb that "nothing fails like failure", for failure destroys that confidence and prepares the way for further failure. It is as an antidote to this evil association of ideas that the saying was invented: "If at first you don't succeed try, try, try again." It is notorious that schoolboys play best when they are on the winning side, and to play well a losing game is one

of the best tests of well-knit character. Those who can do this have learned that habit of doing their best regardless of success or failure — or in other words, of dissociating ideas which ought to be dissociated. Again it is well known that stammering, though originally due to a real difficulty, becomes an inveterate habit chiefly through the thought of inability which crops up as soon as the lips begin to move, and that the only cure is to get rid of this association of ideas, and then by succeeding once to entertain the idea of succeeding twice, and then of succeeding always.

When once the principles just enunciated have been grasped, through the medium of concrete instances, their utility, in self-training at least, will be obvious, and from experience with self it is easy to see what part they should play in the training of the young.

5. The Physiology of Habit. — Modern investigations into the structure and functions of living organisms have shown us that the nervous system is made up of a vast complicated network of tiny threads, in each of which resides a pent-up force ready to issue in motion as soon as it is let loose by what is called a "stimulus", and the letting loose is accomplished more or less as the explosion of a cannon is brought about by the fall of the trigger. The nerve threads are like electric wires along which the vital force passes from one part of the body to another, and when the force reaches the end of a wire, it results in a movement of the body in that part.

Moreover, these threads are arranged in systems ramifying out from certain centers called "ganglia," just as telephone wires radiate out in all directions from a central office, so that every subscriber can get himself switched on to every other. Under such an arrangement what happens is this. Suppose some one pricks my calf with a pin. This is the stimulus which, like the fall of a trigger, sets certain pent-up forces in motion. Immediately the force runs along the nerve from the place pricked to the ganglion at the other end, and here the current may be switched on to a certain other nerve so as to run up to the brain and produce a consciousness of the prick. But the main current runs straight off to the arm and as far as the hand, setting the various muscles in motion. The result is that the hand moves down to the calf (and perhaps even the calf moves up toward the hand) and then follows a rubbing to alleviate the pain. This process can, of course, be accompanied by consciousness due to the division of the current just described, but in itself it is so mechanical that it can go on while the mind is

thinking of something else, or even asleep. Nay more, even after death the same kind of activity can be elicited for a certain time. The standard experiment is to make a frog rub its own back in response to the prick of a pin, even after the animal's head has been cut off, so that it has no brains left and therefore no consciousness. This "up the middle and down the sides" process—to borrow a term from the dancing salon—is called "motor-reflex activity." Where sense or rational consciousness enters in, this is chiefly in a directive or restrictive way, rather than as the actual force producing the motion. In other words, the mind can switch on and switch off the connections, and thus allow the process to run its course, or stop it in the middle, or give it one out of two possible directions, etc. But whatever bodily motion there is in living beings is all achieved by this letting loose of pent-up forces in the nerve system, and in no other way, as far as we know.¹

Herein lies the explanation of what we call the "spontaneousness" of actions. How it is that the baby begins to breathe as soon as it is born, to cry almost immediately after, to suck the teat as soon as it is placed between the lips, and to swallow the milk thus sucked. It explains how the eyelid closes when the eyeball is hurt, how the hand goes up to protect the head as soon as it is threatened with a blow, how the fingers move to the place where pain is felt, how they scratch where there is an itch, how the legs kick out as soon as constraint is felt, how the eyes follow an attractive object, how the hands reach out to take hold of it, etc., etc.

6. Vices and Passions.—Now let us see how these facts of physiology bear on the formation of habits in the young. Motor-reflex activity may be called a habit implanted by nature, for it fulfills the essential definition of habit, *viz*, a stable and permanent facility to act. In fact, the facility is so great that the difficulty lies not in acting but rather in not-acting, when the spontaneous forces of nature are once set to work. On the other hand, by a habit is usually meant something which is acquired by repeated acts, whereas here the facility already exists before a single act is performed. Our business therefore in this matter is not so much to induce a habit as to control it, or in other words, to create contrary habits of direction and restraint.

¹ Of course, the mind can take a greater part in the process than is here depicted and can itself provide the stimulus which sets the machinery in motion. At present, we are merely considering the simpler cases.

A little study will show that almost all the vices of which a man is capable — those, I mean, which involve any bodily action in their accomplishment — owe their execution to the presence of this motor-reflex activity. The strongest instance is, of course, the reproductive instinct, in which the sense of a want is followed so instinctively by the movements calculated to fulfill that want that, unless the mind is extremely vigilant at the first moment of the temptation, the execution of its dictates may take place before the will can interfere. And when once the motor-reflex activities are set in motion, the absorption of the senses can become so complete that the higher faculties have great difficulty in exercising control, so that the only safeguard is keen vigilance against the first beginnings even of thought. The same is true of all other passions, anger, fear, greed, etc., each in its degree. We speak of them as forces which "carry us away." The metaphor is just the right one. Any man who has analyzed his state when under the influence, say of anger, will find that a great volume of force is working its way through the body, creating a violent commotion in its organs, setting the tongue in rapid motion to say fierce words and the hands to do fierce things. This panorama of passionate activity goes on as it were by itself, while the rational mind looks on like a spectator, disapproving, regretting, and even protesting against it, but — unless some sharp shake-up occurs — doing little to stop it till the storm is over. Deeds performed by passion without deliberate malice do not proceed from the initiative of the will, but from the loosing of the pent-up forces of motor-reflex activity. The will is responsible for them, indeed, but in a negative way — that is, by allowing them to go on uninterrupted instead of breaking in and turning off the current. In very violent cases the will actually becomes powerless to interfere, because the attention on which the will depends is entirely drowned in the tide. In this case the responsibility, if any, lies further back — for not shutting the floodgates of passion before the current became too strong.

By this analysis we can understand why our lower impulses are called passions. The word comes from *patior*, "I suffer," or undergo something done to me — the idea of passivity. In their own sphere of impulse the passions are, of course, the very quintessence of activity. It is only from the point of view of the rational will that they are called passions — that is, things which the will rather suffers than does.

7. Exercise of Restraint.—The work of training in regard to these forces is therefore, first, to prevent the motor-reflex activities from acquiring a greater facility than they already possess. For as with trains of mental association, so also is it with trains of spontaneous activity—they certainly gain in force and intensity with each repetition. And what is more—to use the previous metaphor—the more frequently the trigger which lets them loose falls, the more ready is it to fall in the future. Hence the vital importance of checking the very first exhibition of temper or any other vice in a child. For if indulged in with impunity once, it will be indulged all the more readily the second time, and so with increasing facility and intensity, till there is practically no checking it—and so the foundations of a violent character are firmly laid. On the other hand, a severe check administered the first time will not only call the attention of the child to the need of exercising self-restraint, but will (through the association of ideas) provide a counterpoise whenever the first beginnings of passion are felt. And if the check is repeated until it becomes vivid in the mind, it will go far to obviate the indulgence altogether. It is always possible for a man to be of a passionate nature and yet to control it by the strength of the rational will. But where the will is weak, this exercise of control is extremely unlikely to take place, and even where it is strong, the amount of effort required means so much waste of energy which might be directed to better uses. Now, no one would deliberately condemn a fellow being to a needless struggle with his passions if it could be avoided. But those parents who fail to check the formation of passionate habits in their children not only run the risk of turning them out criminals, but, short of that, impose a serious handicap on their future lives, by placing them under the necessity of a constant conflict with adverse forces which, with better training, would never have been arrayed against them.

But besides the violent passions, there are other impulses which also belong to the sphere of motor-reflex activity and which, while not violent in themselves, can by repeated indulgence grow into a habit leading to results more or less disastrous. Take, for instance, the spontaneous action of a baby in putting out its hands to take hold of anything which pleases its eye. It is an innocent action in itself. But if indulged indiscriminately and without check, the habit thus formed will have an important influence on future char-

acter The child, on seeing an object which looks nice, feels a natural wish to taste it Instantly its motor-reflex activity is aroused Out go the hands to grasp it, and a moment later, into the mouth it goes This is exactly what any small child would do; and unless the lesson is effectually inculcated — “You must not touch *everything* you see,” — the spontaneous habit of letting the hands follow the eyes which will soon culminate in pilfering lumps of sugar from the table, then afterward in stealing apples from Farmer Dobson’s orchard, and later on, perhaps, an almost irresistible impulse to take money out of the cash box whenever the chance occurs

8. Control of the Body. — In other words, one of the most important parts of training consists in inducing a habit of proper control over the “spontaneous” movements of the body The application is universal It covers all those movements which go to the make-up of proper deportment — graceful gait and carriage, repose of manner, the habit of sitting still, restraint of the eyes so as not to pry too curiously into things, or stare restlessly about or fixedly into people’s faces, etc, etc It is here worth while noting that the discipline thus practiced with regard to things which are normally colorless will also play an important part in questions of moral conduct For if a proper power of self-control is made habitual even in small matters, where no evil consequences would follow from want of it, the facility thus acquired will apply itself naturally where self-control is a moral duty and the neglect of it a sin

The word “self-control” is the key of the situation To be master of one’s own movements in thought, word and deed, is, we might say, the very definition of a man, and that which precisely distinguishes him from the lower animals Even in mankind all external action is executed through the process of motor-reflex activity and, so far as consciousness enters in, by the association of ideas But in the brutes these two systems of force are supreme They dominate the whole life of the animal and work themselves out unimpeded according to their own law Once add the rational soul, and a new principle is introduced It is just as when a rider is placed on the back of a horse Previously the animal could do just what its own impulses spontaneously suggested Now it still retains the same forces and tendencies, but they are under the mind of another being and are subject to his will — to be used so far as

they serve his purposes of travel and to be restrained so far as they thwart it. I do not mean that the rational soul of a man is another being different from the human animal which it is his business to rule, but for the purposes of our subject it can be regarded in that relation. Our body and its organs are the indispensable steed which is to carry us along the road of life, and it is our business to know the forces with which that steed is endowed and to subordinate them to rational ends.

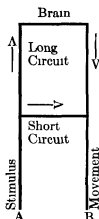
And this is the result which habits are intended to secure — habits which, while allowing the natural energies of the body their healthy scope, control and direct them according to the sound dictates of the reason, so as to make them issue in that kind of action which is alone worthy of a man.

9. The Rational Basis of Habit. — The physiological basis of habit lies in the mechanism of the nervous system, commencing from a stimulus at one end and ending with a spontaneous muscular movement at the other. We can distinguish three modes in this kind of activity.

(1) Where the force set in motion by the stimulus passes through the ganglia without reaching the brain — the short circuit, as we may call it. The whole action is absolutely spontaneous without the intervention of consciousness. Typical examples are the instinct to breathe, to cry, to swallow, to cough, wink, sneeze, etc., and also to move the hand to a place which itches or hurts. These acts are performed with perfect facility from the very first, and equally well when awake or asleep. And so far as they are worked through the "short circuit" alone, they are absolutely outside all control.

(2) Where the current of force divides and in addition to the "short circuit" takes a "long circuit" through the brain (see figure). Here the spontaneous short-circuit action proceeds as before, but it is accompanied by consciousness of what is going on, and therefore admits of control by the switching-off power of the mind. Be it noted, however, that as the current of force takes time for transmission, the short circuit is completed and the action begun before consciousness is excited, and therefore in these cases the control of the mind does not consist in preventing the movement altogether, but in stopping it after it has begun. Unless the mind is alert and the will habituated to prompt self-assertion, the action may proceed a considerable way before it is checked and may even

come to completion while the mind is getting ready to put the veto on. If the movement is sinful in any way, the will is bound to interfere as soon as the mind is conscious of its duty, and in proportion as this interference is neglected, in that proportion is the act



imputable as sin. If the will simply consents to allow the action to go on, it is fully guilty, say of mortal sin. But if the will protests and makes some effort of suppression, the guilt is less pronounced, and may amount to a venial sin only — for want either of advertence or deliberation or consent. This is simply the ordinary scholastic doctrine of the *actus humanus*, the *motus primus primus et secundus*, etc., analyzed on the lines of modern psychology.

(3) The third case is where the action is not in itself so spontaneous as to begin without consciousness, and which is therefore voluntary in its origin — for instance, walking, speaking, writing, playing the piano, etc. Such habits have, in the first instance, to be acquired by deliberate acts in which the mind is the initiating factor, while the physiological forces are subservient to its dictates. But by repeated acts, a certain facility is arrived at, and then the physical machinery gets, as it were, into a groove and acquires a promptness of action which is practically spontaneous. Thus we perform the immensely complicated process of walking without the least reflection and without any apparent exercise of the mind or will, and the same when we read a book aloud or play the piano. The printed letters or notes, as soon as perceived, stimu-

late corresponding muscular movements in the members, the whole process going on through the short circuit with some faint accompaniment of consciousness perhaps, but so automatically that it will continue without interruption, even when the mind is altogether absorbed in something else

For actions of this type we have a double responsibility — first, for having acquired the habit by voluntary and deliberate choice, and then for each individual act performed over which we ought to possess perfect control. But the difficulty of control is sometimes very great — first, because of the tendency of the physical forces to act spontaneously on the least provocation and, secondly, because of the habit of inadvertence which has grown up in the mind. Hence it is that people who have acquired some vicious practice in early life without restraint and in later years wish to break off find themselves engaged in a struggle in which theoretically they are the masters, but practically they are worsted again and again by the force of habit which has by this time become practically motor-reflex and almost instinctive.

This difficulty is increased by the second or psychological basis of habits, which consists in the association of ideas. We use "ideas" here as including sense images as well as intellectual notions, so far as either of them exercise any kind of influence on thought, word, or action. As soon as a pleasant object is perceived, an instinctive liking for it springs up, and then a spontaneous effort to secure it and enjoy it. If thwarted, the child will cry, and may, through its parents, get what it cannot secure by itself. "Crying for what it wants" can thus become a habit, and in any case there grows up an association between the idea of wanting a thing and getting it, which, if not properly restrained, will issue in a confirmed habit. The same applies to shirking or rejecting things which are not liked. It is this association of likes and dislikes with the idea of acting according to them which lays the foundation of an utterly unrestrained and lawless life — a life which *may* not run to much evil where the temperament of the child is equable, but which will run to as much evil as circumstances may suggest, and where there are strong predispositions will result in every kind of viciousness.

10. Self-Control Again. — The essential aim of training, therefore, as we have already observed, lies in securing self-control. Even in the spontaneous motor-reflex activities some control is

possible. The inclination to cough, to sneeze, or to move the limbs shows itself in consciousness by certain symptoms before the action takes place, and with proper determination such movements can be moderated in intensity or even suppressed altogether. Thus a man who realizes that a sneeze will bring about an explosion of dynamite will have a strong incentive to exercise self-restraint, and under such a motive he will probably succeed. Similarly, by proper training, children can be taught to cough with moderation, to resist the inclination to scratch themselves, at least in company, and to avoid showing how much they are bored, etc., etc.

When once the physiology of self-restraint is understood in relation to these innocent and spontaneous forms of activity, the application to more serious matters will be manifest. Every kind of self-restraint helps in the formation of the character, so that a man who has learned not to yawn in company will find himself greatly helped in restraining temptations, say to theft, anger, or impurity.

But if this self-control is desirable and possible in spontaneous habits, *a fortiori* is it so in acquired habits. And the first prerequisite for self-control is advertence of the mind. Not to notice what you are doing is a pure animal condition, to notice what you are doing is the prerogative of a man. Hence, while in spontaneous habits the object is to elevate short-circuit acts into long-circuit acts, so in acquired habits the aim is to prevent what are originally long-circuit acts from degenerating into short-circuit acts — in other words, to secure as much consciousness in action as possible.

The idea must not, of course, be pressed too far. A large amount of our activity is intended to work spontaneously. This is nature's economy, to save brain-wear and to reserve vital energy for higher things. To be always reflecting how our legs move before moving them, would be ridiculous. No, let the spontaneous remain spontaneous so far as it works on the right lines, but do not let spontaneousness extend itself unduly so as to remove our actions outside the sphere of control. Let us at least be in full possession of ourselves whether anything of ethical import is involved.

This quality of "knowing what we are doing" can be called by different names. In popular language it is called "wide-awake," or "on the spot," or "very much alive", and a man notably wanting in it said to be unreflective, thoughtless, dreamy, absent-minded, abstracted, or "in the moon." In cases of emergency it is

called "presence of mind," and the want of it "losing one's head," etc. But putting aside particular aspects, and looking at the matter scientifically, it means that whenever there is any activity, either in the way of bodily movement or of the play of imagination or feeling, the intellect is always on the alert to attend to what is going on, and by realizing the situation can form suitable judgments as to the proper course to pursue — whether the forces which are spontaneously working or about to work should be encouraged, modified, or suppressed altogether, or whether some other kind of movement should be initiated instead.

11. The Machinery of Will. — This advertence is the first prerequisite to self-control, for it places in consciousness the object-matter over which the control is to be exercised. The controlling agent is, of course, the rational will. This faculty is perfectly simple in its construction and working, for it has nothing to do but utter its fiat, "Let this be done, or let it *not* be done." But in order to prepare the way for this pronouncement, something besides advertence is required. It is not enough to have before the mind a consciousness of the various alternatives among which choice is to be made. There must be some judgment on the alternatives in the light of general ideas bearing on conduct, and these general ideas are what we call "principles." The will, though absolute in its power of saying yes or no, demands some motive or reason before it can decide, and herein lies the intellectual basis of habit, which is nothing other than the establishment of principles firmly in the mind. The radical instinct of the will is to love good wherever seen and to embrace it, and it is repugnant to its very constitution to choose evil as such. If in every situation the choice lay between an unqualified good and an unqualified evil, the choice of the will would infallibly fall on the side of the good. Our moral probation lies precisely in this — that all things which come before us are good *in some way* — good for the body, for the senses, if not for the soul. Every indulgence has its proper time and place, but there are places and times where it is not good. What happens is that such and such an act, which could be legitimately performed under other circumstances, must not be performed under *these* circumstances. In such cases the will feels attracted to the act, but is at the same time conscious of the duty of abstention. And herein lies its potentiality of evil. It can concentrate itself upon the attraction which is in some sense good, and yet ignore the prohibition which is in an-

other sense good, and then, having the choice between a lower motive which is more intense and a higher motive which is more worthy, it can throw its weight, so to speak, into the scale of the lower, and thus reaches a decision in favor of the evil course

This interaction of the will and the intellect is of the greatest importance in self-analysis. On the one hand, if the mind is strongly imbued with a certain idea, its natural effect is to incline the will to assent to it and reduce it to action. But the will has the power of turning the attention of the intellect to some other idea, which is thus brought up into vividness while the previous idea is correspondingly obscured and thrust aside out of the center of observation. Just as a skater can adjust his balance so as to sweep round in the direction he wants, so the will can shift the center of advertence and bring the attracting force of one idea to bear upon itself rather than another.

Finally, the power of choice is an absolute one, lying outside the control of any but one's own self, and by it each man is arbiter of his own destiny. Hence in a certain way no man has the power of training the will of another. The training of the will must essentially be self-training. All we can do with those under us is to work on the environment, by determining the material, whether physical, psychological, or intellectual, on which the will has to work. We can by adroit expedients promote the formation of good habits of body, imagination, feeling, and even thought, and by this means create a condition of things favorable to good choice. But when all is said and done, the ultimate formation of character is the work of the *self*, and no one has any real say in it but the self.

And so in the end it comes to this. We can place before us the ideal of what we want our children to become as men. We can reduce that ideal to the form of concrete principles. We can take every means in our power to instill those principles into the minds of our pupils, and to fix them there as intellectual habits. We can try to induce the young to make those principles their own, and by regular reflection and application to bring them to practice. We can facilitate the attainment of the desired result by watching carefully over the first beginnings and gradual growth of habits both of body, imagination, feeling, and thought. In short, we can do all the preparation work for building up the edifice of character, and of the best and noblest character. But unless the child takes kindly to all this and assimilates it and throws the weight of his own good

will into the work of training himself on the lines thus laid out for him, it will all be so much labor lost. For we can make the design and provide materials for the house, but only he has within him the power of deciding whether he would build it up and dwell in it and make it his home.

CHAPTER IV

POVERTY AND THE GOSPEL TEACHING¹

Christ was born poor, He lived as a poor man among the poor, He manifested toward them a special love, showered on them marks of respect and consideration, proclaimed them blessed, and seems to have kept the best place in His heart for them. Hence some have argued that, in His eyes, poverty is a thing to be desired, an advantageous condition, an essential element in all Christian society, and an indispensable condition of salvation. They turn His comforting words to the poor and the promises He made to them into a consecration of poverty. According to them the gospel teaching leads directly to universal and perpetual poverty. To hold any such view is completely to ignore our Lord's intention and grossly to pervert His teaching. Nothing of the kind can justly be inferred from the sacred text. From it proceeds a penetrating fragrance of boundless pity for those who suffer or are in need. In it we read of the wretched, like Lazarus, being received into Abraham's bosom, while the rich who refused them the ministry of kindness are plunged into everlasting flames. It contains touching motives of patience, courage, and hope for the outcasts of life, it sings the sweet song which for centuries has soothed so many miseries, alleviated so much unhappiness, calmed such anger, restored hope to so many in despair. This is its true character.

It does not say poverty is a good thing in itself, any more than that wealth is, in itself, an evil. The gospel deserves none of the reproaches uttered against it for its so-called antisocial theories as to contempt for riches — theories which logically result, as is falsely supposed, in reducing production to what is strictly necessary and to the suppression of all material well-being. Neither is it true that it represents poverty as in itself a virtue and proclaims the spolia-

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tion of self as a more perfect state at which every true Christian should aim. No more can it be asserted with any show of truth that the gospel regards pauperism as something natural and inevitable, of which one must take one's share and which it would be childish to try to suppress.

1. The Gospel does not Represent Poverty in Itself as a Virtue.

— Detachment, not poverty, is a virtue. We should not lose sight of the fact that those who, on the Mount, were declared blessed, were not the poor, properly so called, but the poor in spirit, that is, not those who have nothing in this world but those who cling to nothing here below, who are wholly detached from earthly goods. This detachment may exist in the midst of riches, just as it may be absent in the state of complete destitution. A man may be poor nay, very poor, and yet be much attached to earthly things and extremely desirous to hold property and exceedingly avaricious. Similarly, a man may be very rich and practice detachment of heart in the highest degree — a poverty of spirit immeasurably more precious in God's sight than real deprivation and actual poverty accepted with a bad grace and grudgingly borne.

Poverty does not mean salvation any more than wealth means damnation. Generously submitted to, it becomes a source of merit and shelters men from certain dangers to which riches give rise, but as we have before remarked, these dangers, though great and numerous, are not insurmountable. They are not such as to require us necessarily to sacrifice everything in order to avoid them. We have seen how these words of our Lord are to be understood: "Sell what you have, give the price to the poor, and follow Me." This is a counsel given only to a chosen few. Not a line of the gospel sets indigence as the normal state of the just man, or as the one means of leading a Christian life.

The followers of Christ are not forbidden to work, to produce, or to build up a fortune honestly, they are, however, forbidden to be slaves to wealth, to fix their hearts on it, to consider themselves its absolute masters, to use it selfishly by refusing to help those in need. Our Lord did not consider poverty a social institution, any more than did Adam Smith or Karl Marx. Poverty is a state of suffering. Because He taught that, like every other suffering, it may be made use of for the Kingdom, it does not follow that He looked on it as good and desirable, and gave us to understand that it must be developed, or at any rate maintained, on the earth.

2. Christ Did Not Declare Poverty to be Natural and Unavoidable.—There are utterances of Christ at which socialists affect to be scandalized and of which ultraconservatives avail themselves in order to do as little as possible for the improvement of the lot of the laboring classes. “Jesus therefore six days before the Pasch came to Bethania, where Lazarus had been dead whom Jesus raised to life. And they made Him a supper there and Martha served, but Lazarus was one of them that were at the table with Him. Mary therefore took a pound of ointment of right spikenard, of great price, and anointed the feet of Jesus, and wiped His feet with her hair and the house was filled with the odor of the ointment. Then one of His disciples, Judas Iscariot, he that was about to betray Him, said ‘Why was not this ointment sold for three hundred pence, and given to the poor?’ Now he said this, not because he cared for the poor, but because he was a thief, and having the purse, carried the things that were put therein. Jesus therefore said ‘Let her alone, that she may keep it against the day of My burial for the poor you have always with you, but Me you have not always.’”¹

It is this last sentence, so simple, so clear and so natural, whose meaning has been strangely distorted. Some have found in it a consecration of poverty and a setting up of wretchedness by divine authority as a sort of institution. Starting from this common ground, one part has accused Christianity of lacking the social sense while the other has put itself at ease with regard to the obligations of charity. Their view is this. As there must always be poor people, it is idle to take any extraordinary pains to rescue one's fellow men from their unfortunate state of destitution, for poverty is part of the plan of Providence. And, when pressed, they would not shrink from saying that to try to relieve destitution and lessen the number of the unfortunate, is to run counter to the arrangements of Providence and the special instructions of Christ.

Such an interpretation of our Lord's words is not only wholly erroneous, but it stands in complete opposition to His mentality and teaching and is scarcely intelligible except on the hypothesis of carelessness, ignorance, or want of candor. A rapid glance at the context suffices to assure us that this cannot be the meaning. An interpretation like this is wholly foreign to the obvious sense of the text.

¹ St. John xii, 1-8

When our Lord saw the unhappy woman who was a sinner pour ointment on His feet, and heard His disciples, and among them Judas, complain of her extravagance, saying that the price of the perfume might have been given to the poor, He spoke those words tinged with a divine sadness "Wheresoever this Gospel shall be preached, that also which she hath done shall be told in memory of her, for she hath anointed My body for My burial The poor you have always with you, but Me you have not always" ¹

Our Lord addressed Himself to His disciples, He made them understand the hardness of their hearts which prevented them from seeing the beauty of Magdalen's action, He reminded them, in touching words, that He was soon to leave them, adding that when He should be no longer present they would still have the poor to serve, while to Himself they would be unable to do the least personal kindness This is the whole meaning of His words They ought not, therefore, to be cast at those who are aiming at the destruction of pauperism, they ought rather to be erased from all controversies among Christians on the social question ²

As long as the world lasts there will be weak, sick, and infirm, unable to provide sufficiently for themselves and in need of public aid Until the end of time, inequalities of fortune will exist, the fatal result of the physical, intellectual, and moral inequalities which nature herself has established among men In spite of all efforts, these miseries will never entirely disappear, still on every one lies the duty of endeavoring to lessen them as far as possible Because we cannot effect a radical cure, we are not to think ourselves dispensed from trying to afford suitable help And even supposing we were justified in taking the text as a declaration that poverty will always exist here below, we should have no right to use it as exempting us from an endeavor to lessen pauperism and to eliminate the most glaring social inequalities

3. Christ Has Commanded Us to Relieve Misfortune, Not to Perpetuate It. — To all, to rich and poor, to His disciples of the second as well as of the first rank, He gave the supreme rule of love of one's neighbor by active charity His whole teaching has two poles toward which all His precepts converge confidence in our

¹ St Matthew xxvi, 11-13

² Kurth, Godfrey, *Address on the Ideal of Christian Democracy*, delivered in Paris, October 7, 1906

Heavenly Father, Who is all goodness and love, and the feeling of brotherhood with the duties it implies

These obligations of active charity are so essential a part of His moral code that many among the early Christians seem to have looked on their accomplishment or neglect as the only sign by which the elect are distinguished from the reprobate "Come, ye blessed of My Father, I was hungry, and you gave Me to eat, I was thirsty, and you gave Me drink, naked, and you clothed Me"

From the coming of Christ to the present day the duty of tenderly succoring the destitute and of helping those in need has been considered an elementary virtue in Christian life Almost as great a revolution has taken place in the domain of philanthropy as in that of religion Out of a new conception of God has sprung quite a new love of man Pity was not wholly unknown in ancient times, but Christian charity differs essentially from pagan philanthropy The poor and the unhappy are sacred in its eyes, it considers itself bound to share its goods with them and to sweeten their misfortune

To give to them of our abundance is a plain and elementary duty Words like these, "Give what thou hast to the poor, distribute thy goods to the poor," are an integral part of the gospel It is true that at the present day men are doing their utmost to remove poverty rather than to succor it But those whose conduct is inspired by our Lord's teaching have also done as much as any to rid society of the sore of pauperism Who more earnestly than they have preached justice and encouraged efforts to establish greater well-being and equality? And precisely because they have not been able to realize their generous dream, they have multiplied works of assistance and charity They have labored to soften what they could not prevent, and at the cost of the heaviest sacrifices have created institutions for the benefit and relief of the poor But their aim in so doing has not been to perpetuate wretchedness by making it tolerable—a course which would excite it to rise up and rebel, their one object has been to fulfill the Master's command and to lighten burdens which no one can lift from human society

4. Expansion of Works of Charity.—At the same time, we must admit that, though this splendid expansion of charitable works proves the mighty and fruitful vitality of Christianity and has sweetened so many sorrows, it cannot be accepted as a solution of the social question which is presented to us in these days Other things are needed to solve it besides tokens of pity for those who

suffer, and alms for those in need. In spite of its marvelous activity, charity does not suffice to satisfy all the legitimate claims of the times; these demand a strict observance of justice. Still we maintain that those go beyond the truth who assert that our Lord "foresaw and perhaps only desired the disappearance of poverty as a consequence of the establishment of the kingdom. The complete renunciation exacted from the rich man is rather in his own spiritual interest than for the relief of the poor to whom the kingdom is promised. The conception of a society where riches should be so distributed that none should lack food, clothing, or shelter is not really present in the gospel, and it needs a certain amount of predisposition to find that when Jesus, the Son of Man, had not 'where to lay His head,' He desired for every one the shelter He Himself did not possess.

"The historical truth is that the idea of a society regularly constituted according to the principles of the gospel does not exist apart from the vision of the approaching kingdom, where there shall be neither rich nor poor, where there shall be no question of private property or collective property, and where divine happiness is the common possession of all. There remains only for the believer the possibility, the right, the duty to draw from this ideal of the kingdom, as from that of renunciation and from the precept of charity, such applications as are suitable to any given state of human society."¹

To speak thus is to leave in the shade a whole section of our Lord's teaching that, namely, in which he insists so strenuously on the duty of helping our suffering brethren, of loving our neighbor as ourselves, and of doing to others what we wish done to ourselves. He does not represent help to the poor simply as a pious way of getting rid of the wealth which might hinder salvation, He declares it to be something commanded for its own sake, constituting a strict and special duty.

But even granting that the preaching about the kingdom does but open up a perspective of the future life by its glimpses of an age and a society in which, thanks to the full realization of human brotherhood, there will be neither rich nor poor, it still remains no less true that this perspective reveals, as it were, a social ideal. That ideal it always pursued and always more or less realized wherever the gospel is preached and lived up to. And this ideal is not

¹ Loisy, *The Gospel and the Church*, pp. 78-79

solely the relief of the poor, but the prevention of destruction in so far as this is possible

5. Poverty of Today Not Due to the Teachings of Christianity.—The fault in some instances must be attributed to selfishness and want of sympathy, in some to laziness, viciousness, and heedlessness of others, to the imperfection of institutions, to natural weaknesses and inequalities, to forgetfulness of the gospel principles. Individuals have practiced Christianity in its entirety, no nation has done so. Nowhere has the Christian spirit been complete master and wholly free, we cannot therefore say what the germs contained in it might have produced, had it been possible to develop them in a thoroughly congenial atmosphere. One thing is beyond question in spite of all the unfavorable conditions amid which it has been compelled to work, it has greatly contributed to the relief of all kinds of misery, material and moral. Its efforts are incontestable, and their results undeniable.

The current scientific socialism of the day loves to talk of the abortive experiment and failure of Christianity to solve the social question¹. It affects superb contempt for the gospel methods, re-

¹ Socialists pretend that, all things considered, the various works of charity, practiced for centuries, have done more harm than good. And at the present day, they say this is still the case. It would be a mistake to continue them, they constitute a social danger. They have done but one thing, they showed the radical powerlessness of Christianity to solve the main problem of destitution. In this it has totally failed. After twenty centuries of generous but unintelligent effort, there are just as much wretchedness and injustice on the earth. It has helped a few unhappy individuals, though not always the most interesting, it has done nothing to combat misery in general. It has neglected the study of the causes which produce social evils and has busied itself only with their effects. It has proceeded empirically where it should have made use of the science of bacteriology or hygiene. Instead of laying the ax to the root, it has been content to lop off a few branches. Instead of searching out the most approved methods of beneficence, it would have done better to inquire why these methods should be necessary, and why there are poor people in the world at all. There ought not to be any at the present time, were Christian charity anything but a soothing draft administered to the unfortunate in order to prevent them from crying out.

These accusations are unjust. They always imply that Christianity has but one remedy to offer namely, charity, for the cure of social evils. The supposition is not true. Christianity appeals to justice no less than to charity. It busies itself as much with causes as with effects. It has not been content with some ineffectual prunings, it has ever tried to get at the roots.

garding them as empirical, it can see nothing in them but worthless emollients, soothing drafts, useful at the best to lull human sorrow to sleep for the moment. It pretends to possess efficacious recipes and flatters itself it can succeed where, according to its own expression, "Christ and His Church have pitifully failed."

6. False Conclusions of Socialists. — That the advocates of socialism are strangely at fault in their estimate of Christianity seems to call for no lengthy demonstration. To do away with poverty altogether, it would be necessary to change not only our social conditions but human nature itself. If Christianity has "miserably failed," socialism will fail more miserably still. In any case, socialists may be assured that no one will rejoice more than Christians at anything that can be done to lessen the number of the disinherited and to bring about a larger measure of well-being and a more universal equality, for the true Christian is penetrated with his Master's spirit, and, like Him, full of the ideal of justice and of love.

From all that has been said in this chapter, it follows that neither in the teachings of Christ, nor in His way of acting, nor in the behavior of the apostles, nor in the methods of the early Church, can anything be found to constitute a disapproval of private ownership, an express condemnation of wealth or even an indirect consecration of destitution. Our Lord did not advocate one kind of ownership more than another, He did not anathematize those who were in possession of personal property, but those only who held their possessions in the wrong spirit, and did not use them as they ought. He did not hide from the rich that salvation is harder for them because of their wealth and that worldly goods are an obstacle to high perfection. But His words have nothing in common with the violent abuse and hostile claims of our modern agitators. He reminded men of their duties, but He never excited antipathy, He simply stigmatized abuses.

His teaching as to earthly goods has regard for every right and is in harmony with all lawful progress. He cannot be numbered either among the narrow conservatives who are reluctant to introduce any change whatever, or among those unwise reformers who find everything bad and desire to upset everything. He stands

If it has not succeeded as it could have wished, it is because there are evils here below which can only be relieved and not prevented, they will disappear only with the coming of the kingdom.

at an equal distance from both extremes With Him all is calm, sagacious, moderate, just, superhuman in its loftiness and incomparable in its serenity He appears to us as being of a higher nature All His teachings are stamped with divinity Never did man speak as He did, He had words of life for this world as well as for the next

CHAPTER V

BIRTH CONTROL¹

ETHICAL MOTIVES

1. **The Dignity of the Marriage State.**—Marriage, the union of one man and woman until death, is a sacrament of the new law instituted by Jesus Christ. Christ tells us Himself that He restored marriage to its primitive purity, abolishing forever both polygamy and divorce. "What God hath joined together, let no man put asunder." It is a sacrament holy in all its relations, giving special graces to the married couple to fulfill their obligations. Its primary purpose is to beget children, its secondary aim is to foster conjugal love and happiness.

The Catholic Church, while extolling virginity with Christ and St. Paul as a counsel for the élite few, has the highest possible concept of marriage, which she blesses with a special blessing at her Nuptial Mass. She has always denounced those heretical sects—Gnostics, Albigenses, and others—who held that marriage was unlawful and the begetting of children a sin.

The marital relation, according to Catholic teaching, is in no sense degrading or sinful, but on the contrary holy because planned and sanctioned by God Himself for the spread of the race. On the other hand, the Church teaches that the sexual sins of adultery and fornication are plainly prohibited by the Sixth Commandment, for such temporary unions tend to bring forth children without provision for permanent care, without certain determination of paternity, and without the necessary protection of motherhood.

The marital relation is not only lawful and holy but a strict right, binding on both parties until death, and voidable only for good reasons, such as drunkenness, insanity, grave danger to life and health, etc. By mutual consent, however, both husband and wife may forego their rights, either permanently or for a time.²

¹ Reprinted with permission of the author, Bertrand L. Conway, C. S. P. The Paulist Press, 401 West Fifty-ninth Street, New York.

² I Corinthians vii, 5.

2. Immorality of Birth Control. — Frequently non-Catholics misunderstand our position on birth control, for they seem to believe that Catholic married couples are bound to have children to the utmost capacity of the mother for childbearing. This is not the fact. It is perfectly ethical to limit the family, if the method is self-control by abstinence and continence. What the Catholic Church absolutely forbids is the limitation of the family or contraception by chemical, mechanical, and other artificial means. She considers it under all circumstances an unnatural and immoral vice, prohibited by the Fifth and Sixth Commandments.

She bases her condemnation first upon the instance recorded in Genesis xxxviii, 8-10. In this passage God manifests His divine disapproval by putting Onan to death "because he did a detestable thing." The Church's tradition on this matter is clear and unequivocal, from the days of the primitive Church to the latest decrees of the Roman congregations. No standard book of Catholic ethics or moral theology ever tolerated in the slightest degree the practice of birth control. A decree of the Holy Office, March 21, 1851, declared it forbidden by the natural law, and a second decree, April 10, 1853, declared it intrinsically evil.

A Catholic, therefore, has no doubts about the immorality of birth control, for he believes his infallible Church cannot err in teaching faith and morals. True, there has been no decision on this matter by an ecumenical council, but the common teaching of divine tradition from the beginning makes it part of the ordinary magisterium — just as binding and just as authoritative as the defined utterances of either pope or council. Birth control is against the law of nature. It is unnatural, inasmuch as it implies the frustration of the order of creation. It defeats the immediate end of a natural human act, it is against the natural instincts of humanity, it leads to excess in the use of function which calls pre-eminently for the exercise of self-control.

The immediate purpose of the marital relation is the begetting of children. That at once explains its use and consecrates its function. When the relation is so used as to render fulfillment of its purpose impossible, it is used unethically and unnaturally. Such a sin is condemned by God for the very reason that He condemns the unnatural practice of solitary vice.

Birth control divinizes sex passion, always in itself self-seeking and self-centered, and undermines inevitably unselfish love, which

is ever the true strength of the marriage bond. It insists upon the pleasures of the marital relation, which indeed are innocent in view of legitimate childbearing, but become sinful and degrading when separated totally from the sacrifices and responsibilities of parenthood.

There is unquestionably a widespread, almost universal, sense of sin and shame in men and women who practice birth control. Left to themselves, they naturally regard such practices unethical, unclean, and unnatural. Even the pagan who does not shrink from the practice of infanticide or abortion will rarely adopt contraceptive methods. True, the modern advocates of birth control laugh at these intimations of conscience and assert that they are superstitious survivals of a discredited tradition. They believe that they will be set aside once the arguments for the new morality are properly understood.

What are some of these arguments? Birth controllers assert, in the first place, that population increases more rapidly than the means of subsistence and that therefore vice and poverty are always due to overpopulation. Practice birth control, consequently, or the human race is doomed.

3. The Teaching of Malthus. — Malthus, who first taught this fallacious theory in his *Essay on the Principle of Population*, advised people not to marry or at least to marry late in life, limiting the number of their children by the exercise of self-control. As a Christian he denounced, as we do, all artificial methods of birth control. His followers today hold his false population theory, but reject his advice as both harmful and impracticable. They advise early marriage and advocate birth control.

There is no evidence whatever to prove the so-called "fact" of overpopulation. Indeed, the latest scientific studies prove exactly the contrary.¹ Although the world's population in recent decades has been rapidly increasing, the food production of the world has been increasing at a still more rapid rate. All our American experts — Pearl, Reed, East, Baker, Strong — agree that the United States has actual and potential food resources far in excess of the needs of its present population. The world, too, can, according to all the available evidence, support a far greater population than

¹ It has been estimated on good authority that the world can support 8,000,000,000 and the United States nearly 600,000,000. See Pearl, Raymond, *Bibliography of Population Growth*. Knopf, 1925.

its 1,700,000,000 of today According to Marshall, Pearl, and Taylor, we need not worry for two hundred years at least, and Leroy-Beaulieu thinks that the world could double or even triple its population without any danger

This mythical hypothesis is not only scientifically unprovable, but is clearly anti-Christian, "for it assumes that, owing to the operation of natural instincts implanted in mankind by the Creator, the only alternative offered to the race is a choice between misery and vice, an alternative utterly incompatible with divine goodness in the government of the world"¹

4. Birth Control and Poverty.—The justification of birth control on the plea of poverty is another specious plea, because as a matter of fact the poor do not practice "this detestable thing" as much as the well-to-do It is not the high rents, the cost of childbearing, or child-rearing that fosters contraception, but the immorality and irreligion of the modern parent, eaten up with selfishness and the love of pleasure

"Unless a radical change is soon effected," writes Crum, "the historian of no far distant period will be compelled to say that the descendants of the colonizers of the United States preferred material luxuries to spiritual realities, lustful conceits to correct theories of life, and selfish gratification of inordinate ambitions to unselfish acceptance of the duties of parenthood"²

5. Large Families.—It is often asserted that the mother who bears many children pays the penalty in loss of health and of life We willingly grant that childbearing always is attended with some risk, despite the fact that modern scientific progress in medicine has eliminated the danger in great part But on the other hand, we have statistics showing that maternal longevity is associated with fairly large families These figures do not prove that longevity is the result of prolific childbearing, but they do prove that the slum statistics of the advocates of birth control are most misleading Not the bearing of children, but poverty, ignorance, and the lack of medical care are in many cases the real causes of disease and death

Granted that in some cases further conception may really mean death or a permanent state of ill health for the mother Is there no remedy? Yes, there is one remedy and only one, continence

¹ Sutherland, *Birth Control*, p 22

² American Statistical Association, Vol XIV, p 215

Birth control is not infallible, and its advocates are certainly aware of this fact. To declare that continence is impossible is to go against the experience of millions and to justify adultery and prostitution.

6. Physical and Moral Evils of Birth Control. — Birth control is often advocated as beneficial to men and women, but many reputable physicians have made a large list of diseases traceable to this interference with the course of nature: sterility, fibroids, neuroses, etc. Dr. Mary Sharlieb, for instance, writes in the *British Medical Journal*: "An experience of well over forty years convinces me that the artificial limitation of the family causes damage to a woman's nervous system. The damage done is likely to show itself in inability to conceive when the restriction voluntarily used is abandoned because the couple desire offspring. Sometimes such a woman is not only sterile, but nervous, and in generally poor health."

Besides being harmful to the physical well-being of both men and women, the practice of birth control is destructive of the peace, happiness, and stability of the marriage bond. Remember that no method of contraception is infallible. Frequently therefore a wife who adopts it may conceive, and then be falsely suspected of infidelity by a jealous and suspicious husband. The rearing of a good-sized family cements the love of husband and wife by the many demands made upon their better nature. As Dr. Cooper well says, "It demands two or three decades of unselfish care and active responsibility, of curtailment of liberty and renunciation of pleasure, of ready sacrifices and self-denials of the most altruistic kind. It means hardships courageously faced and borne, moral effort consistently and persistently put forth, responsibilities unflinchingly shouldered, sacrifices unselfishly made. Fathers and mothers are trained not by the feeble words of human exhortation but by the living experiences of their very parenthood."

7. Childless Marriages — It can easily be proved that more divorces occur between the couples of childless marriages than between those who have children.¹ It is certain that the number of childless marriages of those who practice birth control is very great. Divorce is surely increasing rapidly enough in our modern life without adding another factor to the steady weakening of the home ties. How often, too, do we listen to the futile regrets of

¹ Westermarck, *The History of Marriage*, Vol. III, p. 366

aged parents who have purposely limited their family to one or two children. Deprived of their children by death, they are lonely in their old age, and the bereaved mother is often subject to the most profound melancholia.

A large family, moreover, is an inestimable boon to the children thereof. Education does not consist merely in book learning. "In this small democratic world of brothers and sisters the child learns self-reliance, he learns generosity and the habit of sharing, he learns the give-and-take of life, he learns self-discipline and self-mastery, he learns fair play. All these primary human qualities are bred into the child's life by a vital method that makes our own reasoned-out and tested technique of child training seem almost like a sorry makeshift."¹

No argument is more fallacious, no statement more contrary to fact than the stupid axiom "Fewer children and better children." It is the normal and not the small family that gives the best children. The University of London eugenics laboratory has statistics to prove that heredity strongly favors the third, fourth, fifth, and subsequent children born to a given couple rather than the first two, who are peculiarly apt to inherit some of the commonest physical and mental defects.²

8. The Ultimate Effects of Birth Control.—Meyrick Booth, in an article in the *Hibbert Journal*, holds, and rightly, that no stock can maintain itself with an average of less than about four children a marriage, and he adds, "From all available data we must see that the average fertility of the average American marriage falls far short of this average requirement." No wonder that one of our great presidents, Theodore Roosevelt, said "The greatest of all curses is the curse of sterility, and the severest of all condemnations should be that visited upon willful sterility. The first

¹ Cooper, *Birth Control*, p. 29.

² In 1916 a number of commissioners in England after studying this question for eighteen months gave out this report:

"The birth rate of the United Kingdom during the last thirty years has fallen by one-third, that is to say, roughly, from 36 per thousand inhabitants to 24 per thousand. (1) This decline is not, to any important extent, due to alterations in the marriage rate, to a rise of the mean age at marriage, or to other causes diminishing the proportion of married women of fertile age in the population, (2) this decline, though general, has not been uniformly distributed over all sections of the community, (3) on the whole the decline has been more marked in the more prosperous classes."

essential in any civilization is that the man and the woman shall be the father and the mother of healthy children, so that the race shall increase and not decrease "

We conclude in the words of a writer in the *Dublin Review*.¹ "There is a divine law against the practice of birth control This is clear from the teaching of the Church and from Scripture, and it is in accordance with the testimony of nature itself This to the Catholic is peremptory and decisive, and puts the whole matter beyond dispute The difficulties incident to the observance of this law must be faced as other human difficulties are faced We do not wish to minimize these difficulties, but we cannot be silent when others exaggerate them The evil is widespread, the issues are grave We know how hard the observance of the law may be for the individuals

"But the Catholic Church will continue her age-long effort to stem the tide, bidding her subjects remember that they have the blessing of a sacrament instituted by Christ to enable them to fulfill with all virtue the obligations of their state Others may continue to hold a view different from ours Is it too much to indulge the hope that they should recognize that here, as elsewhere, the Church's teaching, though it may be hard, is open-eyed, coherent, and logical?"²

¹ Flynn, T E, December, 1923

² The fatal effects of the practice of birth control upon the English nation is set forth in strong words in the following selection

"The Bradlaugh-Besant trial and the propagandism which preceded and followed it have too close a chronological relation to the start in the fall of the birth rate to be put aside as secondary matter A great industrial boom

had given all classes of the community not only a higher standard of ordinary living but an acquaintance with luxuries, which became necessities When depression followed, the problem arose as to which of the least necessary things should be dispensed with The child, owing to factory and educational legislation, had become more and more a protracted source of expenditure, the moral leaders of the people had taught that the parents had 'no right' to children unless they could support them and this theory had replaced the old evangelical doctrine that 'it is God who sends children and He will in due course provide for them' The better-class workman began to understand that his progress as well as his comfort were handicapped by a large family At such a moment the propagandism of Bradlaugh and Besant struck fruitful soil Their teaching would have had little force had it not found a population seeking for economic reasons a divorce between marriage and parentage Their propagandism might again have made little way had it been purely, as it is largely today, a commercial speculation of the

NATURAL MOTIVES¹

Why do I disagree with you and your doctrine of birth control? It is because your propaganda until yesterday has been based essentially on an emotional reaction and not on a scientific analysis. You have observed, as every one else has, that there are poverty-stricken and diseased people whose families are far too large for their own good or for the good of the community in which they live. Granted, but does that justify a nation-wide program of broadcasting contraceptive information without reserve? You do not appear to have considered that the problem of birth control is only one aspect of the larger population problem. There is a bigger issue than the immediate preference of the individual. The very life of the State is involved as soon as we begin to tamper with who shall and who shall not be born. My objection has been that your program has been elaborated prematurely, without due regard to the permanent interest of the State, without adequate consideration of the real population tendencies which today prevail, without sufficient regard to the reliability and safety of the procedures that you recommend and to the consequences on the spiritual life of those who are influenced by your advices. I am afraid that your effort will simply replace an evil of which we are fully aware and which we all deplore with even greater evils lurking less obviously in the background. There is need for caution, for you are playing with fire. Mistakes in population policy are more easily made than rectified.

vendors of preventives, but Bradlaugh was a man well known throughout England, and whether his views were right or wrong, he was honest in his convictions and personally respected. The gravity of the trial, notorious as it was, was far from recognized at the time, it legitimized the teaching of practical methods for the limitation of the family, and within thirty years that teaching has revolutionized the sexual habits of the English people. It has destroyed the pressure which carried an English population as the great colonizing force into every quarter of the globe, and it may be that coming centuries will recognize the Bradlaugh trial as the knell of the British colonial empire — and as the real summons to Slavs, Chinese, and other fertile races to occupy the spare places of the earth." — Elderton, E. M., *Report on the English Birth-Rate*, p. 234.

¹ By Louis I. Dublin, Ph.D., Statistician Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, New York. Part of an address delivered before the Sixth International Neo-Malthusian and Birth Control Conference, Hotel McAlpin, New York City, March 26, 1925.

1. The Interest of the State. — I shall now proceed to consider some of my objections in detail. There is, first, your disregard of the interest of the State. One would think from reading your literature that the matter of parenthood was entirely an individual affair. As one gentleman recently put it, "I suit myself with regard to the number of my children. I owe the State nothing." This attitude is obviously very short-sighted and indefensible. It serves, however, to focus attention to the conflict between the immediate interests of the individual and the more permanent interests of the State. The average man or woman generally determines his or her personal conduct without much consideration to the good of the community. We are most of us rather selfish and need very little encouragement to avoid parental responsibility. It is often pleasanter and always easier to keep the number of our dependents down to a minimum. Today we live, tomorrow we die. But the logical consequence of such attitudes is nothing short of a challenge to the permanence of the State. Society, accordingly, seeks to protect itself against such a contingency. It expresses a general disapproval of celibacy and proscribes the dissemination of birth control practices. On the other hand, it recognizes the dignity of parenthood, and as a crudely constructive measure, it has recently begun to take into consideration the number of children as an item in fixing the amount of taxes. In some countries, as Professor Douglas has told us, the size of the family is becoming a factor in determining the amount of extra compensation of the worker. These are a few initial steps in the plan of the State to make more attractive to its people the obligation of parenthood. The State insists on its perpetuation and cannot condone or argue its own suicide. We may express our freedom as individuals only within the limitation that the continued existence of the State is assured.

2. Problem of Overpopulation. — The birth-control problem is, secondly, only one aspect of the larger population question and will never be settled satisfactorily except as the larger issue is solved. Your propaganda to date has emphasized almost altogether the necessity for population reduction as though there could be no doubt of overpopulation in the United States. I shall be willing enough to admit when I go home by subway tonight that there are too many people in the world, and I have often felt that way in considering the congested areas of our large cities. These undoubtedly represent ineffective community organization. On the other

hand, we have a problem of underpopulation in our open rural areas. But neither picture alone justifies a snap judgment on the present status of our population, whether it contains too many or too few people. A sound population analysis is called for which would attempt to relate our present population structure to the natural resources of the country and the efficiency with which we utilize our resources. These are highly technical matters which cannot be decided out of hand, not even by generous and high-minded people. If there ever was a question which called for expert handling, it is this one. For this reason, the American Statistical Association at its recent meeting in Chicago gave five sessions to the consideration of the various phases of the population problem as it confronts America today. It was illuminating to note the great variety of opinion that still prevails among serious students of social science on virtually every topic under discussion. Where there are so many conflicting points of view, there is little room for easy dogmatizing. There can be, in fact, no simple solution, and no ready panaceas in a matter of this sort.

But, if there is no consensus of opinion on details, there is at least general agreement that the population problem can be attacked only through long and intensive study of our present composition with due regard to the natural resources of the country, to our future immigration policy, to the organization of industry, the improvement of our channels of distribution, the training and direction of our labor supply and a host of other factors which will determine the limits of our future population. Such an approach is a hopeful and constructive one. It is a far cry from the hasty and rather depressing assumptions which have determined the policy of your organization. Without much hesitation, you have ascribed most of our social and economic troubles to overpopulation and have proceeded to remedy them by striking at the very root of our procreating capacity.

3. False Conclusions.—This leads to my third objection, namely, that you have not read correctly the current tendencies in our population growth. Your impression that our numbers are increasing too rapidly might perhaps follow from a cursory examination of the population figures of the country, but not from a more intensive study of the facts. It is true that past decades have shown large increases, but we must not forget that this growth, certainly in recent years, has been mainly the result of immigra-

tion and the relatively high fertility of the newcomers. It is only in the southern states and in the rural communities that the native population has much more than maintained itself in late years. Now that immigration has been almost completely cut off as a source of population increase, we must look to the fertility of the groups within the country and learn what the conditions of natural increase are among them. After careful study of the situation, I have become convinced that we are, in fact, rapidly approaching a condition of a stationary population. Our study shows that the crude rates of natural increase in the United States are spurious and misleading. We have been living in a fool's paradise heretofore, overlooking altogether the sources of our successive increases. Immigration has enormously padded the proportion of our people at the reproductive ages, and this has, in turn, resulted in increasing our crude birth rates and in decreasing our crude death rates. If, on the other hand, we determine what the present birth rate would be if the age distribution of our population were the result of a prolonged continuation of our present rate of procreation, unaffected by padding from without, you will find that the figure would fall from 23 per thousand, which it is approximately today, to well below 20 per thousand, and the corresponding death rate would increase from a little over 12, the present crude figure, to well over 15. The effect of these two corrections resulting from an artificial age distribution will be ultimately to reduce the rate of natural increase from over one per cent per annum to only one-half of one per cent. Our crude birth rate, however, is falling very rapidly. It has declined over 30 per cent in the last thirty years, and the end is not yet in sight. How much lower it may go, I do not know. But even at its present level and with our current death rate, it will take over one hundred and twenty years to double our number if we continue to depend on natural increase alone. These figures agree closely with the estimates of Professor Pearl who, on biological assumptions, forecasted a population of close to two hundred millions in 2040. Certainly, no country with the wealth of natural resources of the United States will fail to provide its people with the necessities of civilized life if it continues to increase so slowly.

Another and perhaps more instructive approach is to consider the number of births that it requires under present conditions of mortality to keep our population stationary. According to the mortality and marital rates prevailing in 1920, it is necessary on the

average for every ten married couples to have 26 children in order to replace the original quota from which the parents sprang. But not all families have children, one marriage in every six is either sterile or does not lead to live issue. The burden of childbearing, therefore, falls on the remaining families, every ten of whom must have not 26 but 31 children. In other words, present conditions of mortality and fecundity require that families having children shall average better than three in order to maintain a stationary population. All groups of urban American families recently investigated have shown fewer children than this minimum. It is only because of the greater fertility of the newcomers and of those in most rural areas that our annual figures of increase show up as favorably as they do. I would venture the opinion that this very audience would, on investigation, illustrate the current tendency that those who are most able to assume the obligations of parenthood are not reproducing themselves.

This state of affairs is almost altogether a new thing. Until recently, it was the American fashion to have good-sized families. Professors Baber and Ross, investigating this subject among middle-class families of the present generation in the Middle West, found a shrinkage in family size from 5.4 to 3.3 children in the course of one generation. This is equivalent to a drop of 38 per cent in the number of offspring in the space of only a relatively few years. Others have found exactly the same situation in other localities. The tendency toward small families has apparently become a fixed habit among the American people. I cannot consider the underlying causes for the decline in our birth rate except to point to the very obvious influence of the widespread knowledge of contraceptive methods. One would imagine from your literature that such methods were a recent discovery which, if only applied generally, would release a long suffering world from all its troubles. But this is clearly a misconception. There is evidence on all sides that birth-control practices are in vogue to an enormous degree in the United States. Every doctor, every nurse, every druggist, and every social worker will, I believe, admit as much. In no other way can we explain the falling birth rate of the country in recent years.

Knowledge of contraceptive methods is more widely practiced here than in any other country of the world, except Germany and Austria, where the aftermath of the war has taken all desire and incentive for living out of the hearts of the masses. Holland, which

you consider the exemplar of voluntary parenthood, shows a birth rate of 26 per thousand as compared with 23 in the United States

It is, therefore, not true that we are multiplying too rapidly and that we must resort to a nation-wide policy of birth reduction to keep our population within reasonable bounds. The real danger, if there is one, lies rather in the change in our internal composition which will follow a too rapidly declining birth rate and our approach to a stationary population. There is always grave danger in such a shift of weakening the social organization by increasing the proportion of defective and dependent stock. For it is always the least desirable parents who are the last to curtail their fecundity. We likewise unduly increase the percentage of old people whose support falls, more or less, upon the young who, therefore, face the prospect in coming years of carrying greater burdens. We must remember, too, that the greatness of America and of our large cities has reflected the prevailing enthusiasm and youth of our people. The spirit of adventure and of progress go well together and have been the outstanding characteristics of our young and vigorous nation. New York, which is the youngest large city in the world in the average age of its citizens, is a striking example of the power and ability of youth. Reducing the proportion of our young people, as we shall by curtailing birth rates, will at once modify the whole spirit of our intellectual and economic life. This is not a hypothetical but a very real danger confronting the country to which little attention has as yet been paid. It is always amazing to me to consider how little we have learned from the perfectly obvious story of the population changes of France and how ready we are to travel her easy road to national misfortune.

4. Confusion of Thought.—Your movement has also thriven on a series of confusions of thought. Your efforts have been especially directed to the amelioration of the lot of that large number of poor people who, you say, have suffered from ignorance of contraceptive knowledge. You certainly have made no plea for those whose favorable economic and social status would readily enable them to bring into the world normal children and to give them every possible advantage for future citizenship. Yet it is among these very people who need it least that contraceptive information is most widely disseminated and most intensively used. Such activity is distinctly antisocial, for it enables selfish people to escape their proper responsibilities, ultimately to their own detri-

ment and certainly to the injury of the State. You have also won much sympathy for your program through the assumption that it works in the direction of social and economic improvement of the poor. But obviously economic battles cannot be fought by other than economic weapons. The way to meet low wages, bad housing, and the other evidences of maladjustment is to attack them directly through a broad social program including the better organization of industry, more equitable means of distribution, constructive legislation, and those other methods which are gradually bringing about a better day. You do not solve the worker's problems by encouraging him to lose his greatest and noblest possession, his children. On the contrary, you help to maintain the *status quo* by accepting present economic maladjustments without a struggle.

The very first question which arises, then, is how best to regulate the granting of contraceptive information and not how to devise methods for its indiscriminate broadcasting. The State expresses clearly in its legislation that such information shall be restricted to cases where the life or health of the mother is in danger. There is undoubtedly a larger group to whom information may be extended with propriety and to the welfare of all concerned. But how shall that group be defined? What demarcations shall be enforced? Shall contraceptive information be available to those who have already borne several children? Obviously, you would not put such information into the hands of young boys or girls. No sane community would dream of permitting it. What consideration shall be given to the economic status of families or other sociological factors in releasing such information? These and other vital questions must be faced and answered before your association is justified in launching a nation-wide program of birth control.

5. Physical Injuries.—My next objection is that you have proceeded without sufficient proof of the efficacy and the safety of the measures which you suggest. Have you not a moral obligation to assure those whom you wish to help that the procedures you sponsor are at once effective and harmless? The best medical opinion informs me that you are, in fact, not prepared to make any such guarantees. You have collected no evidence on which to predicate the measure of your success. Such information as is available indicates clearly that there is still a large element of uncertainty in the suggested procedures. Those who have studied the work of the so-called birth-control clinics abroad have been

equally unable to discover approved methods in general use. But more vital is the question of safety. Are contraceptive practices, in fact, without hazard to those who indulge in them? Gynecologists and obstetricians of the highest standing have been very suspicious of some of the devices in use and have traced serious affections back to them. Has that been answered? Have you eliminated altogether the possibility that such practices result in permanent sterility of young married women? I know nothing so tragic as the case of young people who avoid children in the first years of their married life only to find later that they cannot have them when they want them. The number of childless marriages is rapidly increasing to the point of becoming a first-class problem, and there is good evidence that contraceptive practices by young people may have a good deal to do with it. What is your answer to the constantly recurring charge that various contraceptive practices lead to mental disorders affecting either the husband or the wife? And what is the usual effect on the spiritual life of those who, through continued control, keep their families down to next to nothing? This is probably the most serious single consequence of the current fashion. I do not put this at your door, for there are many causes. But nowhere, to my knowledge, has your voice been raised to warn those who, desiring more comfort and ease for themselves, lose the greatest of all blessings and the source of our deepest inspiration, a family to provide for and to live for. Therein lies the well-spring of character development for adults, which is choked and forfeited for what usually turns out to be a mess of useless baggage.

6. Balanced Theory of Parenthood. — I could elaborate my objections were there more time, but I hope I have traced most of them with sufficient clearness to suggest that all is not well with the present organization and program of your society. In closing, may I be permitted a few constructive remarks? You have heretofore limited yourselves almost entirely to arousing sympathy for those who have suffered from overlarge families. Today, you might very well take up the other side of the picture and help arouse the public sentiment in favor of fairly good-sized families among the rank and file of normal people. Help to set the fashion, not for large families — the day for that is over — but for families of at least three children and as many more as can be readily and effectively taken care of. One should expect a well-balanced theory of parenthood

from a society such as yours. Your organization could also enormously increase its usefulness by shifting its emphasis from the dissemination of propaganda to the organization of scientific research. What is most vitally needed today is more light on the problem of population and not wider dissemination of questionable contraceptive practices through such agencies as your current publications. Your magazines, sold promiscuously on street corners, are especially offensive and alienate the good will of many thoughtful people. Your first concern, in my judgment, should be to encourage study and investigation of the various aspects of your subject in the spirit of science which all could approve. In this way, you will win the enthusiastic support and cooperation of population experts, and especially of the medical profession. Through such an alliance, you may well be able to remove many of the obstacles which now hinder your progress. One cannot overemphasize the necessity for adequate records of your cases, their close follow-up and careful analysis. Only through this means will you develop a sound policy. It is gratifying to note from the character of your present program that you are already working along these scientific and constructive lines. It is my hope that as your program of unbiased investigation develops, you may win the support of all forward-looking citizens and become true leaders in one of the most important movements of our time.

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CHAPTER VI

JUVENILE DELINQUENCY AND MENTAL DISORDER ¹

Certain qualities are, in all nature, inherent to young life. Plants, animals, and human beings are plastic and susceptible to molding by environment during the early months and years. Even so, there are no doubt many tendencies with which we struggle that we barely more than modify.

It seems clear to us that our most useful and productive work will be with children. The cure of character defects, always difficult, becomes increasingly difficult as age progresses. One may not "teach an old dog new tricks," and may have a serious time breaking him of tricks taught him in his youth.

The intensive study of children followed by the effort to make use of every factor or agency in the community — Boy and Girl Scouts, big brothers and big sisters, playgrounds, swimming pools, etc — has brought about a substantial reduction of delinquency in neighborhoods and districts in St. Louis and many other places.

Some tendencies of the better sort in a child may never reach fruition for lack of opportunity, and it is true that the same can be said in fair measure of evil tendencies. An almost world-wide awakening to the needs of children, mental as well as physical, has come in recent years. The studies of Healy, Adler, Fernald, and other leaders and the now rapidly accumulating data of the psychiatric clinics have given us new insight and understanding of behavior deviations.

What happens in other fields of scientific endeavor is coming in the effort. We learn more of the basic facts in any matter of human interest and there emerge new solutions of puzzling tasks.

1. The Child Guidance Clinic. — There has been in St. Louis since May 1, 1923, in the hospital division of the department of public welfare, a "psychiatric" or child guidance clinic. Nineteen hundred individuals have been examined by the personnel of the

¹ From Bliss, Dr. M. A., *Mental Disorder, Crime, and the Law*, Part X of the *Missouri Crime Survey*, with permission of the author.

clinic, which comprises an internist, a psychiatrist, a psychologist, and specially trained social workers, all of whom take part in and contribute in conference to the solution of the conduct disorders presented. Four hundred and seventeen of the children were referred by the juvenile court. The problems are shown in the table below.

Theft	174
Running away	65
Truancy	75
Staying out late at night or all night	21
Refusing to work	16
Refusing to go to school	7
Lying	26
Pugnacious and quarrelsome	6
Profane and obscene language	10
Temper tantrums	6
Assault	3
Sex delinquencies	66
General incorrigibility	28
Destruction of property	6
Neglect in home	14
Advice as to placement	5
Physical defects	7
Miscellaneous	32

The figures show that more than one of the problems were presented by the same child.

The chronological ages of 381 of these 417 children is shown below and the mental ages follow.

CHRONOLOGICAL AGES

	Number	Percent
Under 4 years of age	1	3
Under 5	4	1.0
Under 6	5	1.3
Under 7	2	.5
Under 8	13	3.4
Under 9	21	5.5
Under 10	26	6.7
Under 11	31	8.1
Under 12	42	10.9
Under 13	39	10.1
Under 14	52	13.5
Under 15	53	13.8
Under 16	40	12.4
Under 17	36	9.3
Under 18	9	2.3
Under 19	1	.3
Under 20	3	.7
Under 21	3	.7

The chronological ages were from five to twenty-one years, and the mental ages were between one year and eighteen years

Median intelligence quotient	77.4
The middle 50 per cent of the children examined had intelligence quotients between	65 and 89
36 per cent had intelligence quotients below	70
18 per cent had intelligence quotients between	70 and 80
90 per cent had intelligence quotients below	100

It seems clear that these children and youths are below the general average of the community and over half of them incapable of competing on equal terms with average normal boys and girls

PHYSICAL FINDINGS

	Percent
Poor physical constitution was present in	18.0
Poor vision	19.3
Heart disease	8.2
Excessively developed external genitals	2.1
Kidney disease	1.8
Syphilis	26.4
Enlarged lymphatic glands	25.8
Teeth decayed and neglected	52.3
Tonsils enlarged and diseased	31.2

PSYCHIATRIC FINDINGS

	Percentage
Mental disease	3.9
Speech difficulties	5.4
Epilepsy	3.8
Sexual inversion	1.8
Sexual perversion	1.4
Personality difficulties	39.8
Feeble-minded	36.8
Borderline between subnormality and feeble-mindedness	18.0
Subnormal	15.2

The tables show the nearly constant presence, in a very considerable percentage of those brought before the juvenile court, of physical or mental disease or defect, or both combined

Judge Hartmann, the present judge of the juvenile court, under date of December 16, 1925, says "I find such medical examination as the clinic gives indispensable in dealing with juvenile cases . . . Recommendations of the clinic are followed Heretofore, children who were mentally defective, along with those who might be normal, were committed to reformatories Today, with the aid of the clinic, we are able to commit the mentally defective to institutions other than reformatories."

With all that medical science, aided by allied sciences, can suggest and with all that people interested can carry out, many flat failures will occur. But it must seem obvious that among children our most successful effort to reduce adult crime in later years will be made.

It must seem equally obvious that these youngsters are entitled to such help as we have in our power to give, to the end that their lives be not shadowed by crime and their citizen associates in adult life harassed and jeopardized.

2. School Children in Missouri.—In 1921 at the invitation of Governor Gardner, the National Committee for Mental Hygiene made a survey among the school children in nine representative counties of Missouri, of the inmates of the Missouri Reformatory, of the industrial schools, of Bellefontaine Farms, and of several orphan homes. The purpose of this was to examine the extent and character of abnormality among the children of Missouri. Some of these findings are very interesting in connection with the important problem of determining in advance the types which are predisposed to criminal actions. The following table shows the number of school children examined in each locality where the survey was conducted and the numbers of these children who were diagnosed as mental defectives and those who were diagnosed as of border-line intelligence and the percentage which these two groups together constitute of the total examined in the community.

MENTAL DEFECTIVES BY COUNTIES AND CITIES

School	Total number of children	Mental defectives (intelligence)	Of border-line intelligence	Percentage defective in intelligence
Atchison County	451	11	10	4.7
Boone County	126	5	3	6.3
Camden County	333	23	23	15.8
Cape Girardeau	613	16	12	4.6
Carthage (two schools)	356	8	4	3.4
Dunklin County	258	52	18	27.1
Richmond	701	14	17	4.4
Iron County	387	14	18	8.3
Springfield	1,073	13	13	2.4
Ash Grove	312	6	5	3.5
Nine rural schools, Greene County	374	11	11	5.9
Totals	4,984	173	134	6.4

The following table indicates the distribution of mental defectives and border-line defectives among the various institutions studied in Dr Hamilton's and Dr Haines's surveys

MENTAL CONDITION OF INMATES OF VARIOUS INSTITUTIONS

Institution	Total examined	Mental defectives	Border-line defectives	Percentage defective
County Almshouses (Dr Hamilton)	2,058	443	—	21.5
Three children's homes	408	16	22	9.3
Missouri Reformatory, white	409	38	31	16.9
Missouri Reformatory, colored	133	22	13	26.3
Industrial Home for Girls	235	19	17	15.3
Industrial Home for Colored Girls	87	9	13	25.3
Bellefontaine Farms, white (St Louis)	129	7	13	15.5
Bellefontaine Farms, colored (St Louis)	57	3	8	19.3
St. Louis Workhouse, white	91	3	2	5.5
St. Louis Workhouse, colored	54	9	6	27.8
Totals	3,661	560	125	19.0

3. Bellefontaine Farms.—One hundred and forty-nine children were examined at this institution. They were all boys, ranging in age from 9 to 17 years, inclusive.

Eighty-eight were white and 61 were negroes.

The offenses for which these children were sentenced are found in the following table.

OFFENSES

Offense	White	Negroes	No.
Incorrigibility	6	2	8
Runaway	14	20	34
Burglary	13	10	23
Destruction of property	2	—	2
Sex	2	1	3
Malignant mischievousness	1	1	2
Out late nights	1	—	1
Assault	1	—	1
Truancy	17	8	25
Larceny	29	17	46
Neglect	2	—	2
Robbery	—	1	1
Concealed weapons	—	1	1
Total	88	61	149

The psychological tests show that only 87 per cent of the children at this institution were rated as having very low mentality. This table shows the intelligence rating according to race

INTELLIGENCE RATING AND RACE

Mental Rating	Whites	Negroes	Total
Average	31	24	55
Low average	22	9	31
Subnormal	28	22	50
Border-line mental defect	4	4	8
Mental defect	3	2	5
Total	88	61	149

Some relation is found between intelligence and delinquent careers, for 41 per cent of the repeated offenders at this institution were classified by the psychologists as either subnormal in intelligence, border-line defective, or mental defectives

A thorough psychiatric examination of the children at this institution resulted in the following classifications

MENTAL DIAGNOSIS AND RACE

Mental Diagnosis	Whites	Negroes	Total
Nothing abnormal noted	9	8	17
Subnormal	15	14	29
Border-line mental defect	7	5	12
Feeble-minded	4	1	5
Psychopathic personality	29	15	44
Psychoneurosis	2	1	3
Epilepsy	1	—	1
Endocrine	19	7	26
Congenital syphilis	2	10	12
Total	88	61	149

Approximately 86 per cent showed psychiatric conditions that are essential to recognize in any constructive plan of training and adjusting these children

The problems of feeble-mindedness, epilepsy, disorders of the ductless glands, congenital syphilis, and psychopathic personality are probably the most fundamental questions to be considered in dealing with these children. It is important to stress that early

recognition of these conditions and suitable treatment and training may save many a child from shipwreck in later life

4. House of Detention and Juvenile Court.—Two hundred children were given physical, psychiatric, and psychological examinations at the house of detention. This work was done by Dr Heldt, in connection with the daily service of the psychiatric clinic of the juvenile court.

Eighty-six of these were white boys, 43 white girls, 60 negro boys, and 11 negro girls. The ages varied from 8 to 18 years, inclusively.

Our object was to find out what proportion of the children passing through the house of detention were in need of thorough and intensive study at the psychiatric clinic. The following table of mental diagnosis, showing the frequency of psychiatric conditions, has been made up from the daily survey conducted by Dr Heldt.

MENTAL DIAGNOSIS

Nothing abnormal noted	23
Subnormal mentality	93
Feeble-minded	7
Epilepsy	1
Psychopathic personality	7
Psychoneurosis	3
With personality handicaps and character defects	66
Total	200

In only 23 cases were there not present mental conditions that are important to consider in the solution of the problems these children presented to the court.

In addition to the above studies an examination was made of 167 juvenile court cases.

One hundred and fifty-six of these children were white, and 11 were negroes, 134 were boys and 33 were girls.

Their ages varied from 5 to 19 years, the largest number being between 8 and 12 years, inclusive (66 per cent). This indicates that the court has been using the psychiatric clinic largely in the cases of younger children—12 years or younger.

We are also glad to say that the court has been as solicitous in having first offenders examined as it has in desiring the clinic to undertake the study of recidivists. Eighty-four children had appeared in court for the first time, while 83 of the children were repeated offenders.

FREQUENCY OF OFFENSE

First offense	84
Second offense	27
Third or more offenses	56
Total	167

There is considerable school retardation in these children. The causes for this are many and varied, causes to be found within the child's own constitutional make-up, his home, the failure of the school to understand the needs of the child himself, and to adjust its educational tools to suit these needs, causes found in the child's heredity, his associates, etc.

We have here a group of children, the majority of whom have been a problem prior to their appearance in the juvenile court. Not only problems for the court officials but for the school authorities and, as our social investigations have shown for a period covering several years, problems to parents and relatives.

The following tables and discussions will endeavor to present a few of the conditions we found handicapping these children, intelligence inferiority and defect, personality difficulties, mental disease, epilepsy, psychoneurosis, serious physical diseases, and the like. It will be quite impossible to deal at all adequately with the immense amount of instructive social data in these cases that has been gathered by Miss Scoville and her assistants. These social investigations point out very forcibly that conditions in the home — psychopathic parents, family desertion, employment of mother outside the home, lack of supervision and parental control, absence of intellectual, moral, and religious training, etc. — are found in a striking percentage of cases.

The following table shows the relations between the chronological age and mental age and gives some idea of the amount of intelligence retardation as determined by psychological tests.

It can be seen from the above table that 31 children under 15 years of age show an intelligence retardation of four or more years.

The mental diagnosis, as shown in the records, cannot be summarized adequately by any artificial tabular method for statistical purposes. A classification is always of limited value, and when used, it must be remembered that it does not cover all of the facts in the case. So the following table, giving some idea of the general mental findings as found among these children, by no means at all

CHRONOLOGICAL AGE AND MENTAL AGE

M A	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	Total
1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
3	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
4	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
5	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
6	—	2	—	2	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
7	—	—	—	—	2	1	—	—	1	—	—	3	—	—	—
8	—	—	1	4	3	6	2	1	2	2	—	1	—	—	—
9	—	—	2	1	3	2	1	5	1	4	—	2	—	—	—
10	—	—	—	2	1	4	5	3	4	2	4	1	1	—	—
11	—	—	—	—	1	3	2	1	6	3	3	3	—	2	—
12	—	—	—	—	—	1	2	1	4	5	3	1	2	1	—
13	—	—	—	—	1	—	2	2	4	3	3	1	—	—	—
14	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	1	5	—	4	1	—	—	—
15	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	2	1	1	—	—	—	—
16	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	1	2	2	—	—	—	—
17	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
18	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—
19	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Undetermined	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—
Total	—	2	3	9	14	17	15	17	31	23	20	10	3	3	167

represents faithfully the immense amount of information gathered on their mental condition

The table, however, will serve to show the frequency of mental disease, mental defect, and other mental handicaps that are necessary to recognize in proper court disposition of the cases of these children. Certainly any form of social treatment that fails to take them into account will fall short of success.

MENTAL DIAGNOSIS

Diagnosis	White	Black	Male	Female	Total
Nothing abnormal noted	8	—	6	2	8
Subnormal	55	3	47	11	58
Border-line mental defect	6	—	4	2	6
Mental disease	3	—	2	1	3
Mental defect	10	2	9	3	12
Epilepsy	3	—	2	1	3
Psychoneurosis	20	4	19	5	24
Psychopathic personality	39	2	36	5	41
Endocrine	4	—	2	2	4
Neurosyphilis	1	—	—	1	1
Unclassified	7	—	7	—	7
Total	156	11	134	33	167

5. Conclusions.—The evidence presented in this report indicates clearly that the state of Missouri must recognize the presence

of elements in the causes of crime which cannot be touched by mere punishment. A considerable number of those who commit crimes are mentally and sometimes physically in need of treatment rather than punishment. Moreover, we have indicated that these unfortunates are often habitual offenders and are being arrested and confined in penal institutions repeatedly. The most discouraging fact brought out in this survey is the great frequency of repeated offenders passing through the jail and workhouse. If more than two out of every three persons sentenced to our correctional institutions, and almost every other person passing through our police court, is a recidivist (a repeated offender), then we have failed to accomplish that which we set out to accomplish in these cases — the prevention of crime, nor have we protected society from them if they promptly return to the same criminal conduct they exhibited before their arrest.

What would we think of a hospital that returned to the community, after a fixed period of time, two-thirds of its cases in no better condition than they were the day they entered the hospital? This is no criticism of penal institutions, nor has it any sentiment in it. It is a plain matter of common sense and public welfare. It is a matter of criticism of our entire system of dealing with offenders.

It should further be noted that such defects should be discovered and studied prior to conviction. But we have nowhere in Missouri any organized medical aid for adult courts. Only the most obvious cases of mental defectiveness or disorder are examined medically. If the defense sets up the plea of insanity, there results the usual disgraceful battle of the experts, when it should be a quiet, orderly proceeding carried out by disinterested examiners who should be as free from bias as the court itself.

Provision by a state agency for the discovery of the committable insane and defective would relieve the courts of many tedious trials often marked by disgraceful use of expert testimony. The psychiatric study of certain malefactors, who are neither feeble-minded nor insane from a legal viewpoint but who, it is quite clear, are of such psychopathic character as to be wholly uninfluenced by exemplary or punitive punishment, may lead us to modify present methods of dealing with them which have been far from successful. It is desirable that we have equipment to make available what medical science has thus far proven it has to offer.

Concerning the question of what should constitute responsibility

for crime, it is submitted that a report of mental soundness on the part of a regularly constituted state agency, such as the proposed department for mental diseases, should guide us with fair safety

The question as to the stage in the proceedings when such an examination should be made must from a medical viewpoint be answered — always before the trial begins. Where it is practicable a psychiatrist should be available to the courts for the purpose of sorting offenders and picking out those who are obviously psychotic for temporary commitment and observation in state hospitals. This service should gradually be extended and should surely be made available in all cases where the issue of mental soundness is raised.

The question of expert testimony in the defense of persons accused of murder and other felonies should not be asked of the medical profession alone. A lawyer must be "accessory before the fact," must plan the defense and abet, suggest, employ, and pay the doctor before he can arrive on the witness stand. There are venal doctors, no doubt, but without venal lawyers they would be powerless. Both professions may very properly recognize their respective responsibilities in the effort to arrive at justice.

In summing up the obvious defects in our procedure for meeting the problem of mental disorder in its relation to crime, these things stand out:

1. Lack of provision for the identification of committable insane before the state has been put to the trouble and expense of trial.

2. There are now no adequate provisions of law to prevent the disgraceful spectacle often exhibited where a plea of insanity is made for the first time at the trial and supported by hired expert testimony, with no opportunity given for examination and observation by competent disinterested physicians, under the direction of the court, to get at the facts.

3. No opportunity is given the courts and penal institutions to recognize these "psychopathic personalities" who now constitute so large a proportion of habitual criminals, and there are no adequate provisions of law for a prolonged incarceration of such persons. It has been already noted that the law does not yet permit this type of disorder to be offered as a defense and this is probably as it should be because they certainly should not be turned loose upon society.

4. There is no authority in law for the continued study of conduct disorders of children and the formulation of methods for their

treatment in order, so far as possible, to cut off crime at its source

6. Recommendations. — 1. There should be a state department for mental diseases, with the present state hospital organization as a framework

2 The services of the department for mental diseases should be available to the criminal courts This department should have opportunity to study cases within the hospitals, under temporary commitment by the court, which require investigation The conclusions reached by the department should be submitted in writing to the court and made available to counsel for the prosecution and defense

3 The state department for mental diseases should assign staff officers of the state hospitals to make examinations of the inmates of the penitentiary and correctional schools at such intervals as the service may require, but not less often than twice each year

4 In the larger cities the full-time services of a physician highly skilled in the field of mental medicine should be furnished as an aid to the courts in sorting offenders

5 There should be a new hospital prison for the criminal insane and defective, planned and equipped to meet the problems presented by its inmates

6 A state-wide survey by the department for mental diseases, in cooperation with the department for education, should be made of the children of the public schools for the purpose of making available the special school facilities already provided by statute, and discovering children who show marked conduct disorders

7 The plea of insanity should be required to be set up in written pleadings before the trial, and in such event the court should be given the power, and it should be its duty to require the defendant to submit himself to an examination by the state department for mental diseases The defense of insanity should not be permitted at the trial unless thus pleaded

CHAPTER VII

PHYSICAL FACTORS IN CRIME¹

1. Physical Effects of Drugs. — There are certain physical factors contributing to the incidents of crime which are now so well recognized that they may be passed over in a brief paper such as this by merely referring to them. Thus drug habits (alcohol, morphine, cocaine), by their physical effects on the organism, are well known to be immediately responsible for a large percentage of crime. The twilight state of epilepsy, having its root in some kind of disturbance of the cerebral cortex, is also the source of a certain number of criminal acts. Feeble-mindedness, with its definite cerebral pathology, is now admitted to be a common condition in many types of criminals. We hear, besides, the question raised whether or not the disposition to commit crime² is inherited according to Mendel's laws. The evidence that has been brought forward on this point would shrink to a negligible insignificance had feeble-minded cases been excluded. Since these are often hereditary, as Mendelian recessives, their inclusion in a group of delinquents would cause an uncritical student to jump to the conclusion that the tendency to crime is itself inherited as a Mendelian recessive.

Leaving aside these problems, we may ask

(1) Are there any general physical factors of the environment that are directly responsible for crime?

(2) Are there any general physical factors in the constitution of the individual that determine him to be a criminal?

(3) Are there any special physical disabilities that are immediately as physical disabilities causes of the individual's crimes?

(4) May physical disabilities be considered factors in crime, because they lead to mental conditions which are a fruitful soil of criminal acts?

¹ Reprinted with permission of the author, Rev Thomas V Moore, M D, Ph D, Associate Professor of Psychology, Catholic University

² Rath, Carl, *Ueber die Vererbung von Dispositionen zum Verbrechen*, *Munchener Studien zur Psychologie und Philosophie* Vol II, pp 37-138 Stuttgart, 1914

2. Theory of Lombroso. — The first two of these questions have been answered in the affirmative by the school of Lombroso. This school maintains that the criminal is not morally responsible, but is a criminal because of external and internal physical conditions and influences over which he has no control.

In Lombroso's *Crime, Its Causes and Remedies*¹ we find an enumeration of the physical factors of the environment that cause crime.

Thus it is pointed out that moderate temperatures produce a tendency toward crime and rebellion, but tropical ones tend to lethargy and inactivity. At the same time hot months and hot years tend to an excess of certain crimes. Rape and murder are favored by the hot months. Infanticides are most numerous from January to May. Crimes against property are most common in winter, etc. Mountainous regions are more productive of murders than low ones, etc.

Now all these things are mentioned as if meteorological conditions were direct determinants of the crime itself.

The question is not raised. Does hot weather produce an irresistible drive in certain individuals to commit murder and rape, and cold weather a similar impulse to appropriate another's property? And yet such questions should be raised if these things are to be spoken of as the immediate causes of crime.

Thus if accidents to mountain climbers are more frequent in summer than in winter, we cannot say that the more elevated temperature of air in the Alps in summer causes men to stumble and fall. It is not temperature that causes the increased number of falls, but the fact that a warmer season presents an occasion for men to recreate themselves in the Alps. In like manner, if infanticides are more numerous in the spring months, it is not because the climatic conditions of the spring months produce an irresistible desire or even a moderate tendency in some mothers to kill their children, but because illegitimate births are more common in these months, due to the illegitimate pregnancies of the previous summer, which in their turn are due to physical factors arising from the freer mingling of the people in the outdoor life of the warmer months.

3. Criticism of Lombroso. — A critical consideration of the environmental causes of crime brought forward by Lombroso will

¹ Trans. by Henry P. Horton, 1911, pp. xlvii, 464.

show that not one of them is in itself directly and immediately a cause, but that when they are active at all it is only because they mediate a *mental* environment which gives an occasion for criminal acts

What, then, is to be said of the born criminal—one whose inner physical organization determines him to be a criminal just as the physical characteristics of a Chinaman constitute him a member of the Mongolian race? Is this criminal a member of a special human race that is necessarily at war with normal man? Is he a degenerate with physical stigmata of his degeneration by which he can be clearly known?

A vast number of studies to prove one or the other of these theories have been published by Lombroso and his followers. Unfortunately, the method used was such as to excite popular talk, but not such as to lead to definite scientific results.

This unscientific method of procedure is well illustrated in Lombroso's little work, *Criminal Anthropology and Its Recent Progress*¹. Here he points out the various anatomical abnormalities that members of this school, on the lookout for such things, had found at the autopsies of criminals they had studied. Thus Lemoine finds in a kleptomaniac a congenital fusion of the two frontal lobes of the brain. Hotzen found a girl of fifteen who had killed her mother to be a pachymeningitis hemorrhagic. Richter presented to the Berlin Psychological Society the brain of a criminal with a bifurcation of the fissure of Rolando.

If one starts out with the doctrine that criminals bear upon them certain stigmata of degeneration which point to a condition that accounts for their crimes, then all these facts are interesting observations. But if one asks for the proof of the fundamental principle of criminal anthropology, that the criminal is an atavistic degenerate bearing upon him the stigmata of his degeneration, then one may enumerate indefinitely cases of the association of crime with anatomical abnormalities and never prove what he started out to prove, that anatomical abnormalities show that their possessor is a born criminal. For even though it might be true that all criminals have certain anatomical peculiarities, it does not therefore follow that all who have certain anatomical peculiarities are criminals.

Nevertheless, if it could be shown that all criminals have certain

¹ *L'Anthropologie Criminelle et les Récentes Progrès*, p. 180. Paris, 1890.

anatomical peculiarities, it would be a most valuable scientific fact. And we could, at least, say of individuals who did not present these stigmata that they are not criminals, that is, do not belong to the criminal race. But unfortunately there was no agreement between the members of the school on the characteristics of the criminal race. And yet there should be an agreement if any such race existed. A race can be picked out by anthropological measurements. A body of trained anthropologists, or even untrained observers, could pick out fairly well the Chinese, Japanese, Italians, Germans, etc., in any community. They might miss some and occasionally mistake a Japanese for a Chinese or a German for an Italian, but they would make correct diagnoses in a large percentage of the cases. Or a doctor can tell a case of Graves's disease, or a cretin, or an acromegaly, or a case of hypopituitarism, or a Mongolian imbecile, by physical stigmata. But in no such way is it possible to pick out the criminals from the general run of the population. Is not the reason for this impossibility the nonexistence of a criminal type? Exclude the feeble-minded, who can sometimes be detected by physical signs, and there is no way of even guessing at criminals by physical stigmata.

If crime could be detected by physical signs, should there not be some relation between criminality and the stigmata of degeneration, as there is between Graves's disease and exophthalmus, enlarged thyroid, a rapid pulse, etc.? But suppose we have made the interesting observation that in a certain criminal the fissure of Rolando branched. The next thing we want to know is just how this bifurcation determined his crime. The matter is really as much of a mystery as the relation of the position of the stars at a child's birth to his subsequent history.

4. Research Necessary. — Empirical research should have supplemented the ingenious surmise of Lombroso, had it been true. But as a matter of fact, it has not done so. The data of his own followers conflict. As Garofolo says, "The characteristics described by some writers as peculiar to criminals are said by other observers to be found in larger proportion among the noncriminal."¹

Furthermore, a most elaborately planned and carefully executed statistical study of three thousand English convicts failed to find any association between the stigmata of degeneration and crime. Dr. Goring thus sums up his conclusions:

¹ Garofolo, Baron Raffaele, *Criminology*, p. 67, 1914.

"In the present investigations we have exhaustively compared, with regard to many physical characters, different kinds of criminals with each other and criminals, as a class, with the law-abiding public. From these comparisons no evidence has emerged confirming the existence of a physical criminal type such as Lombroso and his disciples have described. Our data do show that physical differences exist between different kinds of criminals, precisely as they exist between different kinds of law-abiding people. But when allowance is made for a certain range of probable variation, and when they are reduced to a common standard of age, stature, intelligence, and class, etc., these differences tend entirely to disappear. Our results nowhere confirm the evidence or justify the allegations of criminal anthropologists. They challenge their evidence at almost every point. In fact, both with regard to measurements and the presence of physical anomalies in criminals, our statistics present a startling conformity with similar statistics of the law-abiding classes. The final conclusion we are bound to accept until further evidence in the train of long series of statistics may compel us to reject or to modify an apparent certainty — our inevitable conclusion must be that there is no such thing as a physical criminal type."¹

5. Physical Defects and Delinquency. — In attempting to answer the third question raised, "Are there any physical disabilities that are immediately as physical disabilities causes of the individual's crime?" I have searched the literature for a comparison of delinquents and nondelinquents in regard to such physical defects and found no satisfactory statistical investigation.

McCord reports² figures on the physical examinations of one hundred delinquent boys and compared them with similar examinations on one thousand school children.

He found the following percentages of cases having the defects enumerated on page 452:

¹ Goring, Charles, *The English Convict, A Statistical Study*, p. 440. London, 1913.

² McCord, Clinton P., M.D., "Physical and Mental Conditions of Delinquent Boys," *Journal of Delinquency*, Vol. IV, 1919, pp. 165-185.

	Physical Defects of Delinquency	Physical Defects of School Children
Nasal Catarrh and Chronic Pharyngitis	66%	17 %
Stooped Shoulders	27%	13 %
Decayed Teeth	27%	22 %
Defective Vision	14%	17 %
Diseased Tonsils	10%	14 %
Mental Deficiency	11%	2 %
Malnutrition	4%	3 %
Discharging Ears	5%	1 %
Defective Hearing	2%	3 %
Rachitic Remains	8%	1 %
	2%	26%

In general the group of delinquents has more physical defects than the group of school children. But can we say that this excess of physical defects is a factor in their delinquency? To gain further light on this question, let us see what physical defects, other than mental deficiency, are more evidently in excess with the delinquents. They are nasal catarrh and chronic pharyngitis, discharging ears, and evidences of past rickets. It is not likely that these defects tend directly to make a child delinquent. But why are they more prevalent with this group of delinquents? Because in all probability the delinquents come largely from a low environment, where noses and ears are allowed to run and the diet of children in infancy is so frequently neglected that rickety children are common. The group of school children contains, besides the pupils of low environment, others of better walks of life whose numbers reduce the incidence of physical defects due to neglect. From such figures as these we can learn but little as to the direct bearing of physical defects on delinquency.

There are several other studies on the physical defects of delinquents, but they do not compare them with nondelinquents. So far as I know, a statistical answer to the problem of the relation between specific physical defects and delinquency cannot now be given.

More interesting are a number of case studies.

Holmes reports¹ the case of an incorrigible boy whose stealing could not be cured by home treatment nor frequent incarcerations in the house of detention. At the psychological clinic of the University of Pennsylvania it was noticed that his gums were swollen.

¹ Holmes, Arthur, "Can Infected Teeth Cause Moral Delinquency?" *Psychological Clinic*, Vol. IV, 1910, pp. 19, 20.

and red from crowded first and second teeth "In spite of Harry's rebellion and loudly expressed fear, he was immediately relieved of an outgrown canine tooth. The effect was almost instantaneous. His whole nervous system seemed to express itself in one sigh of relief. On the way back from the dental clinic he began an animated conversation with the social worker, unburdened his mind on many points, and initiated confidences which have grown ever since. From that time his improvement has been marked and continuous. His teeth were removed gradually, as it was found expedient."¹

It seems so strange that a child's stealing should be connected with crowded teeth that one is impelled to suggest other factors in explanation. One would like to know in just what way his whole nervous system seemed to express itself in a sigh of relief. No doubt relief came from the thinning out of the crowded teeth, but was this sudden sigh of the whole nervous system a piece of imagination in the mind of Dr. Holmes? Was the real cause of reform the final establishment of a relationship of confidence between himself and a social worker? This certainly is not excluded and seems to me very likely. Then it is strange how children recover from psychogenic disorders when once these troubles are made no longer worth while. It is strange, too, how one child draws the line at one discomfort, another at a different penalty. I have seen many a case of choreiform movement cease after the prescribing of an unpleasant remedy. And one case that was stubborn to *asafoetida* yielded promptly to a milk diet. Perhaps Dr. Holmes's boy did not mind scolding parents and rather enjoyed a night in the house of detention. But when it came to pulling teeth, there he stopped, and found it worth while to listen to persuasion.

Upson reports² three cases of moral aberration cured after the extraction of carious or impacted teeth. The first was a young man of twenty-one who is reported as having ceased a career of robbery and assault after the removal of impacted and abscessed teeth and an operation for phimosis. Another after the removal of two old stumps of teeth ceased a long career of drunkenness. The third, a woman of forty, had been suffering with headache and toothache for several years and been going on periodic sprees. After the removal

¹ *Ibid* p. 21

² Upson, Henry S., M.D., "Moral Aberration Due to Physical Irritants," *Psychological Clinic*, Vol. IV, 1910, pp. 149-154

of nineteen carious teeth she went on one more spree and then stopped. The case was followed for only nine months.

"These two patients appear to differ from the first one in being cases of periodic aberration caused by pain. There is no evidence, however, to show that the craving for drink is, in such cases, really due to any pain recognized as such in consciousness or localized in any way. It is rather the result of vague but intense emotion, in the form of either unrest with depression, or elation with its accompanying lack of self-control."¹

Healy (*The Individual Delinquent*) found abnormal physical conditions as a causative factor in delinquency ranked fifth in the table of causes when main and minor elements were counted together. As a single factor it ranked sixth with only forty cases to its credit out of a total of 823.

In the analysis of these physical factors he found the most common one, as a major factor, to be marked defect of vision, the second most common was disease of nose and throat, the third, premature sexual development, the fourth, excessively poor physical development.

6. No Physical Defect in Itself Produces a Positive Tendency to Crime.—In conclusion, I may suggest the affirmative answer to our fourth question will unravel the mystery that attends the association of physical factor with crime. Physical disabilities are factors in crime by way of mental conditions which they create. A boy with a physical defect who is mocked by his companions and refused a position to earn a livelihood, or who, holding a position, is not promoted because he is an unattractive personality, may develop an antisocial disposition, and so more easily be led into crime.

No physical defect in itself produces a positive tendency to crime. It may lead to a drug habit or an antisocial disposition. In the technical language of logic a physical disability may be a condition, it is never a cause of crime.

¹ *Loc cit*, p. 154

INDEX OF NAMES

- Abbott, Edith, 228
 Adler, Felix, 185
 Allies, T W, 201
 Allport, Floyd, 176
 Andrews, John B, 295
 Aschaffenburg, G, 228

 Baldwin, R N, 201, 224
 Bateson, Mary, 185
 Beard, Charles A, 201
 Beers, Clifford W, 286
 Belloc, Hilaire, 201
 Beveridge, W J, 295
 Blackmar, F W, 38
 Boas, Franz, 12
 Bogart, E L, 145
 Bosanquet, Helen, 28, 185
 Breckenridge, Sophonisba P, 228
 Brinton, Daniel G, 53
 Brockway, Z R, 228
 Brown, A R, 53
 Brunhes, Jean, 145
 Bryce, James, 12, 145, 201
 Buckle, H F, 138
 Burns, Cecil Delisle, 201

 Cabot, Richard C, 286
 Carver, Thomas Nixon, 201
 Castle, W E, 271
 Catlin, George, 12
 Chesterton, G K, 192
 Clarke, R Floyd, 201
 Clayton, Joseph, 295
 Clopper, E N, 228
 Cohen, Joseph L, 295
 Coman, Katherine, 145
 Comte, A, 78, 86, 110
 Conklin, E G, 271
 Conway, Martin, 176
 Cooley, C H, 176
 Cooley, Edwin J, 228
 Cooper, Rev Dr John, 271, 433
 Coppens, Rev Charles, SJ, 271
 Cornish, M H, 244

 Cronin, Michael, 271
 Cunningham, Susan, 201
 Cuthbert, Fr, OSFC, 185

 Davenport, C B, 271
 Dealey, J Q, 28, 186, 201
 DeBrogie, Abbé, 53
 DeFursac, M, 286
 Delehayé, Rev Hippolyte, SJ, 35
 Dennett, R E, 73
 Devas, C S, 186, 191, 201
 Devine, E T, 244
 Devon, James, 228
 Dixon, Roland B, 145
 Donaldson, J, 28, 186
 Douglas, Hitchcock, and Atkins, 295
 Dublin, S I, 425
 Duckworth, W H L, 12
 Durkheim, Emile, 35, 44, 48, 53
 Dwight, Thomas, MD, 271

 Eastman, Crystal, 295
 Ellwood, Charles, 99
 Epstein, Abraham, 244, 295

 Fallon, Valère, 434
 Federated American Engineering Societies, 295
 Feldman, Herman, 295
 Fernald, Walter E, 286
 Finot, J, 12
 Fletcher, Margaret, 271
 Foerster, F W, 434
 Folks, Homer, 228
 Fosdick, R B, 228
 Frazer, J G, 35, 55, 56
 Friday, David, 244
 Frobenius, Leo, 73

 Galton, Francis, 262, 271
 Garner, J W, 201
 Gasquet, Cardinal, 186
 Gault, R H, 176
 Gerrard, Rev Thomas J, 271

- Giddings, F H , 21, 98
 Gillette, J M , 99, 186
 Gillin, John L , 228, 244, 295
 Ginsberg, Morris, 176
 Glueck, B , 228
 Goddard, H H , 228, 271, 286
 Goldenweiser, Alexander, A , 12
 Goodsell, Willystine, 28, 186
 Goring, Charles, 228
 Graebner, F , 12
 Green, Thomas, 286
 Grosse, E , 73

 Haddon, Alfred D , 12, 73, 145
 Hart, H H , 87, 228
 Hayes, Cardinal, Patrick, 377
 Healy, William, 228, 286
 Healy, W , and Bronner, Augusta, 228
 Hearn, W E , 186
 Henderson, C R , 228
 Hettinger, Rev Francis, 53
 Hill, H C , 176
 Hirn, Yryo, 73
 Hitchcock, H , 201
 Hoag, E B , and Williams, E H ,
 228, 229
 Hobbes, Thomas, 113
 Holben, Ralph R , 244
 Hollander, J H , 244
 Hollingsworth, H L , 229
 Howard, G E , 28
 Howe, F C , 176
 Hull, Rev E R , S J , 73
 Hull, Rev E R , S J , 53
 Hunter, Robert, 244
 Huntington, Ellsworth, 145
 Husslein, Rev J , S J , 73

 Jaricot, Pauline, 319
 Jennings, H S , 271
 Jordan, L H , 53
 Judge Baker Foundation, 229
 Judson, Harry Pratt, 201
 Junod, Henri A , 53, 73

 Keane, Augustus H , 145
 Kelleher, J , 201
 Kellor, Frances, 295
 Kelly, Florence, 201
 Kelynack, T N , 229
 Ketteler, Bishop Von, 102
 Key, Ellen, 118
 Kidd, Dudley, 73

 Kircher, Rev A , S J , 85
 Kirkpatrick, E A , 186
 Koppers, Rev Wilhelm, S V D , 10,
 16, 35, 40, 53, 531
 Kroeber, Alfred L., 13, 73
 Kroeber, A L , and Waterman, G G ,
 12

 Lang, Andrew, 13, 42, 49
 Laufer, L , 5
 Lavigerie, Cardinal, Charles, 41
 Leacock, Stephen, 201
 Lee, Joseph, 176
 Leo XIII, 345, 376
 Le Roy, Rt Rev Alexander, 22, 53
 Lévy-Bruhl, 48, 67
 Lichtenberger, J P , 186
 Lilly, W S , 53, 73
 Livingstone, D , 64
 Loisy, A , 35
 Lowie, Robert H , 4, 9, 13, 20, 24, 29,
 53, 59, 146

 McConnell, R M , 229
 MacCurdy, George Grant, 53
 MacDonald, Rev Dr Walter, 201
 McDougall, William, 176, 286
 MacMurchie, Helen, 286
 Maher, Michael, S J , 286
 Malinowski, B , 3, 7, 13, 17, 25
 Malthus, T R , 178, 257, 258, 420
 Man, E H , 13
 Mangold, G B , 229
 Marrett, R F , 13
 Martindale, C C , S J , 201, 271
 Marx, K , 87
 Mason, Otis Tufton, 13, 73, 146
 Matthews, Washington, 73
 Mercier, Cardinal, 286
 Merriam, C Edward, 201
 Mills, Philo, 53
 Montesquieu, Baron de, 138
 Mooney, James, 13, 53
 Moore, Dom Thomas Verner, M.D ,
 271, 286
 Moore, T U , 68
 Morgan, C L , 8, 10, 16, 20, 59, 113
 Morgan, Lewis H , 97
 Morice, Rev A G , O M I , 53
 Morrison, W D , 229
 Mosby, T S , 229
 Muckermann, Rev H , S J , 272
 Mulry, Thomas, 314

Muntsch, Rev Albert, S.J., 73

O'Malley, Austin, 272

Osborne, T M, 229

Ozanam, Frederic, 312

Park, R E, and Burgess, E W, 176

Parkinson, Rt Rev Mgr Henry, 201

Parsons, E C, 29

Parsons, Philip Archibald, 229

Pastoret, Mme, 318

Pearson, C H, 272

Perry, A C, 176

Perry, W J, 53

Pesch, C, 39

Pfleiderer, O, 35

Pinard, Rev H, S.J., 35

Plater, Charles, S.J., 201

Radin, Paul, 73

Ratzel, F, 73

Reclus, Élie, 73

Reinach, S, 35

Renan, E, 35

Richmond, Mary E, 186, 244

Rink, H, 73

Ripley, William L, 73

Rivers, W H R, 53, 73

Robinson, J H, 99

Ross, Rev J E, 295

Roth, W E, 73

Rousseau, J J, 113

Rowntree, B S, 244

Ryan, Rev J A, 245, 295

Saint-Simon, Comte de, 87

Saleeby, C W, 272

Sapir, Edward, 13

Schaff, H K, 229

Scherger, George L, 201

Schmidt, Rev Wilhelm, S.V.D., 29,
35, 48, 49, 53, 60, 66

Scott, Colin A, 176

Semple, Ellen C, 146

Skeat, W W, 73

Skeat, W.W., and Blagden, E O, 53

Slater, Thomas, S.J., 201, 272

Small, Albion, 67, 78, 117

Smith, G B, 245

Smith, G Eliot, 13

Smith, J R, 434

Smith, R H, 229, 244

Smith, W R, 73

Soares, F G, 100

Southard, E E, and Jarrett, M C,
229

Spalding, Rev H S, S.J., 102

Spencer, Baldwin, and Gillin, F J, 53

Spencer, Herbert, 10, 38, 42, 54, 69, 78,
87, 99, 113

Spinden, Herbert J, 13

Starcke, C N, 29

Stefansson, Vilhjalmur, 73

Story, Moorefield, 201

Strecker, Edward A, and Ebaugh,
Franklin G, 272

Stutsman, Jesse O, 229

Sumner, W G, 57, 59, 61

Sutherland, Hallday G, M.D., 180,
229, 272, 434

Tarde, G, 45

Tawney, R H, 245

Thomas, N W, 13, 186

Thomas, William I, 146

Thwing, C F, 186

Todd, Arthur James, 146, 176, 186, 245

Towne, Ezra Thayer, 176

Travis, T, 229

Tregold, A R, 286

Turquetil, Mgr A, 49, 50

Tylor, Edward B, 13, 53

Urwick, E J, 201

Van Den Gheyn, Rev Jos, S.J., 53

Van Hise, Charles R, 146

Vonier, Dom A, O.S.B., 286

Wallas, Graham, 176

Wallis, Wilson D, 13

Walsh, J J, 202

Walters, H E, 272

Warner, A G, 245

Wasman, Rev Eric, S.J., 73, 272

Watkins, Gordon L, 245

Webster, Hutton, 13

Westermarck, E, 21, 186

Whetham, W.C.C., and C.D., 186,
272

White, William A, 286

Williams, T, 69

Williams, William, 176

Willmann, R, M.D., 272

Willoughby, Westel Woodbury, 202

Wilson, Woodrow, 202

- Windle, Sir Bertram, 13, 56, 100, 272, 286
Wines, F H , 176, 229
Wissler, Clark, 9, 13, 29, 53, 146
Wolfe, A B , 186
Wright, C D , 191
Wright, Rev Thomas, 202
Yerkes, R M , 286
Znamieki, Florian, 87

GENERAL INDEX

- Abstinence, 153
- Accommodation, 158
- Africa, monotheism in, 40
- Almsgiving, 240
 - and social work, 309
- Andaman Islands, family life, 20
- Animals, are gregarious, not social, 119
 - have no rights, 127
- Anthropology, sociology needs, 5
- Application, 96
- Assimilation, 159
- Association, use of, 395
 - of ideas, 394
- Associations, multiply workingman's, 368
- Asylums, orphan, 242
- Authority, popular belief and, 190

- Beatitudes, social value, 331
- Benefit and insurance societies, Catholic, 371
- Biological arguments against sterilization, 269
- Birth control, and poverty, 421
 - ethical motives against, 418, 425
 - immorality, 418, 434
 - measures are harmful, 259
 - natural motives against, 425, 434
 - physical and moral evils, 422
 - ultimate effects, 423
- Broken homes, 219
- Buddhism, 35-36

- Capital and labor, Christian interdependence, 353
- Capital punishment, 226
- Catholic benefit and insurance societies, 371
- Causes of, feeble-mindedness, 276
 - insanity, 283
 - poverty, 233
 - social misery, 253
 - unemployment, 289
- Celibacy, voluntary, 255

- Certainty, human testimony, 92
- Changing attitude toward poverty, 231
- Charity, expansion of works, 413
 - supreme test, 378
 - the word to be retained, 322
- Chastity, 155
- Child guidance clinic, 435
- Child, nervous or psychopathic, 278
- Childless marriages, 422
- Children, position of in primitive family, 25
 - psychiatric study of problem, 278
- Christ, and social principles, 327
 - and the sanctification of the individual, 329
 - and trust in Providence, 336-337
 - as a model for social workers, 306, 385
 - did not declare poverty to be natural and unavoidable, 411
 - did not teach doctrine of hate, 338
 - did not teach laziness, 336
 - has commanded us to relieve misfortune, not to perpetuate it, 412
 - on the duty of social work, 309
 - social teaching misinterpreted, 335
- Christian idea, of poverty, 243
 - of State, 362
- Christian, life and institutions, social evils to be remedied only by return to, 356
 - interdependence of capital and labor, 353
- Christianity, and Buddhism, 35-36
 - and pre-Christian religions, 37
 - poverty of today not due to the teachings of, 415
 - teaches practically the right use of money, 355
- Church, alone can solve the social problem, 351
 - contribution to our national life, 388
 - humanitarian work, 238
 - international in spirit, 192

- of the ages, Chesterton on the, 192
- safeguards the rights of citizens, 197
- seeks the material welfare of the poor, 358
- teachings, 183
- Clemency, 156
- Clinic, child guidance, 435
- Community, 168
- Competition and conflict, 157
- "Concomitants," fallacy of reasoning from, 206
- Condition of Labor*, Leo XIII *On the*, 345-376
- Conflict, competition and, 157
- Conscience, 123
- Creatures, purpose, 107
- Crime, and juvenile delinquency, 205-229
 - and the immigrant, 221
 - as a social problem, 205
 - new laws add to volume, 206
 - no physical defect in itself produces a positive tendency to, 454
 - objective causes, 219
 - physical factors, 447-454
 - poverty and mental deficiency, relationship between problems, 273
 - religion and, 227
 - scientific interpretation of the causes, 214
 - theories concerning cause, 212
 - vice, sin, 207
- Criminal, and feeble-minded, sterilization of the, 266
 - statistics, fallacy of comparing various countries on the basis, 206
- Criticism, of American program of eugenics, 251
 - of Lombroso, 247, 448
- Cultural environment, 141
- Cultural evolution, 4
 - Laufer on, 5
 - opponents, 4
 - refuted, 7
- Culture, evolutionary theories, 14-18
 - new theory of the diffusion, 7
- Dangers, of false standards*, 389
 - of preconceived opinions, 6
 - to society from the moron, 274
- Darwinian theory, influence, 134
- Day nurseries founded by Pastoret, 318
- Definition, sociology, 77
- Degeneracy, 236
- Degradation of marriage, 182
- Delinquency, and mental disorder, 435-446
 - crime and juvenile, 205
 - increasing juvenile, 223
 - physical defects and, 451
- Dementia, 280
- Dependent children, 242
- Deposition, right of, 189
- Destiny, man's final, 105
- Determinants of cultural environment, 141
- Dignity of labor, 356
- Divorce, 181
 - abolish, 184
 - State and, 182
- Drink, 235
- Drugs, physical effects, 447
- Duties, *see* rights
- Economics and sociology, 79
- Education, as an agency of social control, 173
 - State and, 194
- Effects of unemployment, 289
- Elberfeld system, 239
- Employee, new attitude toward, 294
- Employers' moral obligation to pay fair wages, 366
- Employment, unemployment and casual, 237
- Environment, 133
 - and other social conditions, 140
 - as a social force, exaggeration, 134
 - bad home, 219
 - cultural, 141
 - determinants of cultural, 141
 - determines social characteristics only to some extent, 137
 - geographic, 135
 - heredity and, 144, 261
 - human and physical, 139
 - in social progress, importance, 133
 - recent scientific developments and their effect on cultural, 143
 - social, 140
- Epicureans, 106
- Epileptics, drug addicts, 243
- Eskimos do not kill sick or aged, 59-60
- Ethical principles, dangers of rejection, 181

- Ethics and revealed religion, 84
 Eugenic measures, right and wrong, 253
 Eugenic program, Galton's, 262
 Eugenics, criticism of an American program, 251
 heredity and, 246-272
 laboratory, 261
 spiritual factor, 263
 what is? 250
 Evils of neo-Malthusianism, 259
 Evolution, cultural, 4
 unilinear, 69
 Evolutionary theories of culture, opposed by facts, 14-18
 morality, assault upon, 60
 Exaggeration of environment as a "social force," 134
 Example of Christ, 385
 Exercise of restraint, 400
 Expansion of works of charity, 413
 Expenditure for maintaining feeble-minded, 277
 Experience, widening influence, 323
 Extent of, feeble-mindedness, 275
 poverty, 232
 unemployment, 288

 Failure, attitude toward, 301
 Fallacy of, comparing various countries on the basis of criminal statistics, 206
 reasoning from "concomitants," 206
 False, conclusions of socialists, 416
 notions in statecraft, 198
 standards, dangers, 389
 views, danger, 86
 Families, large, 421
 Family, 430
 confusion of thought, 430
 erroneous views of Morgan, 20
 importance, 19
 influence of the New Testament, 333
 primitive, 19-29
 primitive, true picture, 24
 Fear as the origin of religion, 46
 Feeble-minded, classification, 274
 effect of religion, 285
 expenditure for maintaining, 277
 sterilization of the criminal and the, 266
 Feeble-mindedness, and insanity, 273-288
 and retardation, 274
 causes, 276
 extent, 275
 tests for determining, 275
 Form of civil society, 188
 Form of government, nations free to choose, 189
 Fortitude, 151
 Frazer's *Golden Bough*, fallacies, 10
 Freedom of will, heredity and, 264

 Galton's eugenic program, 262
 Geographic determinists, fallacies, 138
 Geographic environment, 135
Golden Bough and *Folkways*, 10, 66
 Gospel, and paganism, 379
 does not represent poverty in itself as a virtue, 410
 teaching, poverty and the, 409-417
 Group, behavior, 161-176
 morality, 87

 Habits, 147
 definition, 392
 early inculcation of, 392
 physiology of, 397
 psychology and the physiology of, 392-408
 the rational basis of, 402
 Hate, doctrine of, not taught by Christ, 338
 Hedonists, 106
 Heredity, and environment, 144, 261
 and eugenics, 246-272
 and freedom of will, 264
 and opportunity, 266
 a study in, 246
 laws, 249
 theory of selection in studies, 246
 Holy Family, influence, 333
 Home environment, bad, 219
 Homes, broken, 219
 House of detention and juvenile court, 441
 Human and physical environment, 134
 Humanitarian work of the Church, 238
 Hypothesis, 98-100
 Hysteria, 281

 Ideas, association of, 394
 wrong, 109
 Imagination useful for the social worker, 317

- Immigrant, crime and the, 221
 Immorality of birth control, 419
 Importance of environment in social progress, 133
 Individual rights, 197
 Indoor and outdoor relief, 239
 Influence of the Darwinian theory, 134
 Ingratitude often the reward of social work, 303
 Insanity, 280
 causes, 283
 feeble-mindedness and, 273-286
 increasing? 283
 treatment, 284
 Insurance societies, Catholic benefit and, 371
 Insurance, unemployment, 291
 Intemperance, 218
 Interference, State, 193
 Investigation, object, 108
 Isolation, 115

Jesuit Relations, social value, 98
 Jewish organizations, good work, 324
 Justice, 150
 lax court procedure and obstruction of, 220
 Juvenile court, house of detention and, 441
 delinquency, 222
 delinquency and mental disorder, 435-446
 delinquency, crime and, 205-229

 Knights of Columbus, 171

 Labor, Christian interdependence of capital and, 353
 dignity, 356
 Large families, 421
 Law, civil, 123,
 eternal, 122
 moral, 122
 natural, 123
 physical, 121
 Lawful combination, advantages, 370
 Laws of heredity, 249
 Laziness, Christ did not teach, 336
 Leaders, inspiration from great, 299
 Legislation, social, 239
 Like-mindedness, 162
 importance of, 162
 in primitive society, 164
 Little Sisters of the Poor, 242
 Living conditions, 237-239
 Lombroso, 247, 448
 Luther and the Landgrave of Hesse, 88
 Luzon, morality of tribes, 65

 Machinery of will, 406
 Malingering, 239
 Man, and his Creator, 116
 endowments, 112
 essentially a social being, 112-120
 is older than the State, 348
 need of society, 115
 Man's, final destiny, 105
 natural right to private property, 347
 natural right and his social and domestic duties, 349
 Marriage, degradation of, 182
 Marriage state, the dignity, 418
 Marriages, childless, 422
 Mental deficiency, 435-446
 Mental, factors and constitutional inferiority, 216
 incapacity, 235
 Misfortune, Christ has commanded us to relieve, 412
 Misery, banishing all, 304
 Modesty, 156
 Monotheism, 40
 Moral law, 122
 among primitives, 54-73
 theory of Spencer, 54
 Moral obligation to pay fair wages, employers', 366
 Morality, among primitives, 61
 among primitive Australian tribes, 66
 and religion, 64
 changing, not proved by Sumner, 61
 group, 87
 Sumner's view, 56
 true standard of, 67
 Moron, danger to society from the, 274
 Multiply workingmen's associations, 368

 Nations free to choose form of government, 189
 Natural, law known to primitives, 58

- right and his social and domestic duties, man's, 349
 right to private property, man's, 347
 Nature of the State, different opinions on, 187
 Negritos, 17
 morality among, 65
 Neo-Malthusianism, evils of, 259
 Nervous or psychopathic child, 278
 Neurasthenia, 281
 New Guinea, morality in, 63
 New Testament, contradictory interpretations, 326
 influence on the family, 333
 Obsessions, 282
 Occupation, criminality due to, 221
 Opportunity, heredity and, 266
 Opposition, attitude toward, 302
 Origin of religion, fear, 46
 ghost theory, 47
 Orphan asylums, 242
 Outdoor relief, indoor and, 239
 Overpopulation, problem of, 426

 Paganism, the Gospel and, 379
 Paranoia, 281
 Parenthood, balanced theory of, 431
 432
 Passions, vices and, 398
 Paternal rights, State may not abolish nor absorb, 350
 Pathology, social, 214, 295
 Pauperism, hereditary factors as causes, 248
 poverty and, 230, 231
 Physical laws, 121
 and moral evils of birth control, 422
 defects and delinquency, 451
 effects of drugs, 447
 factors in crime, 447-454
 Physiology of habit, 397
 psychology and, 392-408
 Play group, 167
 Point of view of social worker, 3
 Political science, and sociology, 79
 Poor, Church seeks the material welfare of the, 358
 Popular belief and authority, 190
 Postulate, 91-103
 defined, 93
 necessary, 93
 Postulates and hypothesis, 97
 of sociology, 94
 Poverty, an age-old problem, 230
 and pauperism, 230, 231, 245
 and the Gospel teaching, 409, 417
 an inevitable condition for many, 230
 birth control and, 421
 causes, 233
 changing attitude toward, 231
 changing concepts, 232
 Christian idea of, 243
 three theories of, 233
 extent of, 233
 in itself as a virtue, Gospel does not represent, 410
 of today not due to the teachings of Christianity, 415
 State's share in the relief of, 360
 subjective and objective causes, 233
 to be natural and unavoidable, Christ did not declare, 412
 Preconceived opinions, danger, 6
 Preventive work, advantages, 322
 Primary groups, 165
 Primitive family, 19-29
 LeRoy, 22
 Lowie, 24
 Malinowski on, 25
 moral training of youth, 27
 position of children, 25
 position of women, 25
 true picture, 24
 Primitive man, and the notion of causality, 49
 not a savage, 69
 Primitive religion, 35-53
 why emphasize? 66
 Primitive society, like-mindedness in, 164
 Primitive tribes and more advanced tribes, 24
 Primitives, defined, 31
 Livingstone explains morality among, 64
 morality among, 61
 moral law among, 54-73
 private property among, 30, 34
 private property in foodstuffs, 31
 private property in land, 32
 recent study, 69
 the natural law known, 58
 Principles, changing, 117
 evils effects of wrong, 329

- explanation of these, 195
 - dangers of rejection of ethical, 181
 - necessity, 80
 - social, as explained by Christ, 327
 - State welfare, 194
 - unchanging, 117
- Prisoners, youthful age of, 209
- Private property among the primitives, 30-34
- Problem, child, psychiatric study, 278
- Procedure, unscientific, 6
- Programs, 81
 - necessity, 328
- Progress, 299
- Promiscuity, sexual, rejected, 15
 - unknown among truly primitive people, 22
- Property, among the primitives, 30-34
 - in foodstuffs among the primitives, 31
 - in land among the primitives, 32
 - man's natural right to, 347
 - owners, State should favor multiplication of, 367
 - socialists and, 346
 - State should safeguard, 363
- Providence, trust in, 336-338
- Prudence, 147
- Psychasthenia, 281
- Psychiatric study of problem children, 278
- Pygmies, morality among, 63
- Race, myths, 254
 - riots and strikes, 162
- Reason and the moral law, 123
- Regeneration, social, 330
 - spiritual, 330
- Relationship between problems of crime, poverty, and mental deficiency, 273
- Relief, indoor and outdoor, 239
- Religion among feeble-minded, the
 - salutary effect, 285
 - among the Australian tribes, 66
 - among the primitives, 35-53
 - among the Sumatra tribes, 65
 - and culture, 227
 - and ethic
 - and morality, 64
 - fear as the origin, 46
 - monotheism, 40
 - social theory of the origin, 42
 - social work allied to, 305
 - social work cannot be substituted for, 305
 - "the ghost theory," 47
 - the most universal and most beneficent form of social control, 172
 - universal among men, 39
- Religious orders, social value, 257
- Remedial measures, 225
 - for feeble-minded, 278
 - for unemployment, 290
- Retardation, feeble-mindedness and, 274
- Riches, not condemned by Christ, 340
- Right, 125
 - and wrong in eugenic measures, 253
 - an immutable standard of what is morally, 208
 - of deposition, 189
 - of unborn child, 260
 - use of money, Christianity teaches practically the, 355
- Rights, animals have no, 127
 - from the Creator, 126
 - incorporeal property, 33
 - individual, 197
 - of citizens, Church safeguards, 197
 - State must protect the laborers', 364
- Rise of individualism, 184
- Saint Simon, 86
- Saint Vincent de Paul Society, 239
 - harmonious work with other organizations, 311
 - results of cooperation, 313
 - salient features, 311
 - testimony of Thomas Mulry, 314
- Saints as models of social work, 306
- Science, sociology is a, 79
- Secondary, groups, 169, 170
 - principles, 81
- Segregation, 270
- Selected group, danger of arguing from, 212
- Sexual promiscuity rejected, 15
- Sickness, 234
- Sin, crime, vice, 207
- Slumming condemned, 320
- Sobriety, 155
- Social, and domestic duties, man's
 - natural right and his, 349
 - environment, 140
 - exchange, 312

- factors and social institutions, 133-202
- institutions, social factors and, 133-202
- legislation, 239
- mind, further steps in the formation, 163
- origins in the light of recent ethnology, 3-13
- pathology, 204-295
- principles as explained by Christ, 327
- problem, Church alone can solve the, 351
- progress, 299
- value of religious orders, 257
- value of the Beatitudes, 331
- Social control, 171
 - education as an agency, 173
 - State as an agency, 196
- Social evils to be remedied only by return to Christian life and institutions, 357
- Social forces, 147
 - exaggeration of environment as, 140
- Social work, allied to religion, 305
 - and almsgiving, 309
 - cannot be substituted for religion, 305
 - imagination useful for, 317
 - must be scientific, 310
 - supernatural motives in, 383
 - the teachings of Christ on, 309
- Social worker, preparation, 125
- Socialists and private property, 346
 - false conclusions, 416
 - reject private property among primitives, 30
- Society, forms of civil, 188
- Sociology, a science, 79, 83
 - and political science, 79
 - and related sciences, 77-89
 - and religion, 104
 - as a speculative science, 85
 - and economics, 79
 - definition, 77
 - needs anthropology, 5
 - purpose, 78
 - secondary principles, 81
 - subject matter, 77
- Spiritual, factor in eugenics, 263
 - sense, 381
- Standard of morality, 67, 208
 - dangers of a false, 389
- State, 187-202
 - a natural institution, 190
 - and divorce, 182
 - and education, 194
 - as an agency of social control, 196
 - Christian idea, 362
 - common good the main purpose, 195
 - different opinions on nature, 187
 - has the interests of all equal, 301
 - man is older than the, 348
 - may not abolish nor absorb paternal rights, 350
 - must protect the laborers' rights, 364
 - share in the relief of poverty, 360
 - should favor multiplication of property owners, 367
 - should not forbid minor societies which aim at legitimate purposes, 199
 - should safeguard private property, 363
- State interference, 193
- State welfare, principles, 194
- State, world, 199
- Statistics, fallacy of comparing various countries on the basis of criminal, 206
 - reliance on, 205, 217
- Sterilization, biological arguments against, 269
 - of the criminal and the feeble-minded, 266
- Strikes, race riots and, 162
- Studying, changed conditions, 382
 - heredity, 246
- Subjective and objective causes of poverty, 253
- Suicide, 284
- Sumatra tribes, religion among, 65
- Supernatural motives in social work, 383
- Supreme test, charity the, 378
- Survey, starting your own, 316-317
- Tanganyika, morality among tribes, 64
- Temperance, 152
- Tests for determining feeble-mindedness, 275
- Theory, of the existence of distinct anthropological criminal type cannot be held, 211

- of Lombroso, 448
- of Malthus, 257
- of Malthus not proved, 178
- of selection in studies of heredity, importance, 246
- Three theories of poverty, 233
- Treatment of the ...

- Ultimate effects of birth control, 423
- Unemployment, 287-295
 - and casual employment, 237
 - causes, 289
 - effects, 290
 - extent, 288
 - in other countries, 288
 - insurance, 291
 - involves other social problems, 287
 - serious social problem, 287
- Unilinear evolution, 69
- United organization, 386
 - necessary, 386
- Unscientific procedure, 6
- Uplifter, social, 317
- Utilitarians, 106

- Vice, sin, crime, 207
- Vices and passions, 398
- Virtue, Gospel does not represent poverty in itself as a, 411
- Vivisection, 128
- Voluntary celibacy, 255

- Wages, employers' moral obligation to pay fair, 366
- Waste and extravagance, 235
- Will, the machinery of, 406
- Women, position of, in primitive family, 25
- Work, preventive, advantages, 322
- Workers' education in the United States, 169
- Workingman's associations, multiply, 368
- World State, 199
- Wrong, in eugenic measures, right and, 253
 - though crime may be a changing concept, there is an immutable standard of what is right or, 208

